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"PATOWMECK ABOVE YE INHABITANTS."

A COMMENTARY ON THE SUBJECT OF AN OLD MAP.

By WILLIAM B. MARYE.

PART 3.

*The "Land Carriage" between the Waters of the Susquehanna
and the Waters of the Potomac.*

The point of departure of this series of articles is an old manuscript map, drawn in the year 1721 by the Hon. Philemon Lloyd and now the property of the Maryland Historical Society. On this map, a facsimile of which was published with the first article of this series,¹ is shown "ye Land Carriage of 8 Miles to ye Susquehannah," connecting a point on the upper reaches of Conococheague Creek, as yet unidentified, with some creek flowing into Susquehanna River, across the divide between waters flowing into that river and the watershed of the Potomac. In a memorandum which was found attached to this map and which, in my opinion, originally formed part of a letter, we are told that this particular creek of the Susquehanna was the "Cunnatiqua-Necota" (in Seneca), or "Cunnatiqueme" (in Shawnee), a "large Branch" of that river, which "Trending South West makes a Land carriage of About eight Miles only; from ye Waters of Potowmec & Susquehannah." These Indian names, it would seem, were never adopted by

¹ See this *Magazine*, Vol. XXX, opposite page 1.

white people. So far as I am aware they are found on no old map of the region in question. The identification of the "Cunnatiqua-Necota" is therefore a problem of a topographical character.

A study of large-scale Government maps² of that part of Pennsylvania with which we are now concerned, reveals certain significant facts: The West Branch of Conococheague Creek and the headwaters of two important creeks of Susquehanna River, Conodoguinet Creek and Great Aughwich Creek, interlock in the mountains. It is most unlikely that any portage path ever existed between the West Branch and either one of these creeks. I have not seen the Conodoguinet at Roxbury Gap, where it emerges from the mountains, or higher up. At Orrstown, some miles below the gap, where I saw and photographed it last summer, it is a rather weak stream spread out over a rocky bed, shallow and quite unsuited to canoe travel. Of course, it may be objected, that two hundred years ago it was probably a bolder and deeper creek at that place. However, the mountains have not been deforested and it is unlikely, to me at least, that within them the character and volume of the creek have changed much in two centuries.

There is, in my opinion, no creek of Susquehanna River, save the Conodoguinet, between which and the Conococheague canoe travel was ever possible with the aid of a portage path of a length no greater than eight miles. About two and a half miles above Chambersburg the eastern or main branch of Conococheague Creek approaches to within five miles of Conodoguinet Creek above Orrstown. It is slightly less than seven miles between Conococheague Creek, near a place called Scotland, three miles above Chambersburg, and Conodoguinet Creek, at the mouth of one of its largest affluents, Herron's Branch, about a mile below Orrstown. The Conococheague at Chambersburg, and above that town, at Red Bridge, seems to me, even today, to be sufficiently deep to float a canoe. Between Red Bridge and

² I consulted Mercersburg, Chambersburg, Shippensburg, Fairfield, Newville and Carlisle Quadrangles.

the Conodoguinet at and about Orrstown, lies a beautiful stretch of gently rolling country. The hills are higher near the Conodoguinet, than they are along the Conococheague, but nowhere seem precipitous. In my opinion it was across this undulating plain, before the opening-up of this region to white settlers, that a portage path ran, connecting the Conococheague with the Conodoguinet. This plain, I believe, was the site of Lloyd's "land carriage."

Among the "Blunston Licenses"³ the following seem to be of especial interest as having a possible bearing on our problem:

August 24, 1734 (license issued) to William Thompson, 150 acres, *at the Carrying place on the south Branch of Conedogwt* (Conodoguinet) to Joyn on the east with William Lawson's tract.

Same day. To William Lawson, 200 acres, *at the Carrying place on the south Branch of Conedogwt* & Joyning on the west with William Thompson's tract.

April 25, 1735. To John Lawson, 200 acres, *about two miles above the Carrying Place on Conedogwt* under a hill where two springs rise.

December 6, 1736. To James Brakenrig, 200 acres, on the south side of Conedogwt *at the Carrying Springs* near Spice Bottom & joyning to Samuel Calverson's place.

August 8, 1737. To Francis Bower, 250 acres. In the forks & on Both sides *the north west Branch on the Carrying Spring* & Joyning on a settlement made by James Heron.

At this juncture I wish to acknowledge my great indebtedness to Miss Mary H. Colwell, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, who not only as a favor to me, but because of the interest she takes in the history of that part of the country in which she lives, under-

³ "Notes from the Blunston Licenses," *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. XI, No. 3, pp. 269, 273; Vol. XII, pp. 63, 65. The "Blunston Licenses" were licenses issued by Samuel Blunston, Esq., on behalf of the Penns, to white persons who had settled west of Susquehanna River. Their purpose was to protect these people in the possession of their lands, until they could have the same surveyed and secure patents. In numerous cases no surveys were returned and no patents issued.

took researches at Harrisburg and elsewhere with a view of identifying the "Carrying Place" and the "Carrying Spring." Miss Colwell is of the opinion, and I fully agree with her, that the only branch of Conodoguinet Creek to which the name of "South Branch" is applicable, is the large stream which discharges into that creek between Orrstown and Mongol. This stream was formerly known as Herron's Branch. Its principal affluents are Lehman's Run, Muddy Run and Rowe Run. The last named rises about three miles north of Red Bridge on the Conococheague. It derives its name from a series of early land grants called "Culbertson Rowe," most of which were taken up by the Culbertson family. Miss Colwell reports that William Lawson and William Thompson failed to take out patents for the lands on which they were licensed to settle. She finds in the early land grants of those parts no other mention of the "South Branch," of the "Carrying Place," or of the "Carrying Spring" under these respective names. In her opinion Samuel "Calverson" was a Culbertson. This family settled on Rowe Run, as we have noted above. Miss Colwell informs me that James Breckenridge ("Brakenrig") married a Culbertson. This Breckenridge family is known to have settled on the branches of Herron's Branch.⁴ This branch took its name from the Herron family, but in 1734 David Herron and his sons, James and Francis, were seated on lands within the watershed of the Conococheague.⁵

By "the Carrying Spring" or "the Carrying Springs" it must not be assumed that any particular spring, or springs, were meant. It is to my mind fairly certain that this name was intended to designate, not a separate spring, but an entire water-course. It seems to have been the custom of the early white settlers of the Cumberland Valley in Pennsylvania to call the more considerable affluents of the principal creeks of

⁴ See "Old Mother Cumberland" in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 35, 36.

⁵ *Publications of Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, XI, 185: "Blunston Licenses."

those parts, "springs." Thus we find in their older records references to Falling Spring, Middle Spring, Le Tort's Spring, Boiling Spring, Great Spring and Dry Spring; and so also, apparently belonging in the same class, the Carrying Spring. The reader may satisfy himself as to the truth of this statement concerning the local use of the word "spring" by a perusal of "Notes from the Blunston Licenses," to which references have been made above. An equally curious way of designating small rivers and fresh-water creeks exists here in eastern Maryland. We call them, in certain cases, "falls." A stranger might think that we refer to some particular falls or cascade, when we speak of Jones' Falls or of Gwynn's Falls. In the case of the Cumberland Valley "springs" descendants of the early settlers of that place have not been satisfied with these designations and have added the word "branch" to some of these early stream-names which survive.

In summing up these remarks concerning the identity of the Carrying Place and of the Carrying Spring, I should say, that, according to my opinion, the South Branch of the Conodoguinet and the Carrying Spring were names for the stream now, or lately, known as Herron's Branch. If this is correct, then the Carrying Place was on Herron's Branch, for we are told that it was on the South Branch.

Of probable significance in this connection was the trading post shown on Lloyd's map as situated at or near the mouth of Conococheague Creek, being described as "An Indian Traders Habitacon & 40 miles from Monockkasye." It was customary to establish trading posts at the junction of commonly used and frequented water routes or of Indian paths.

Without being able to claim an intimate personal knowledge of the divide between the Potomac and the Susquehanna, I believe it will be fairly clear to anyone who examines a good modern map of that part of our country, that the more or less level land between the bend of the eastern branch of the Conococheague and the upper Conodoguinet offered possibilities of a convenient portage which existed nowhere else along this divide.

We are assuming, of course, that the upper Conodoguinet, two hundred years ago and upwards, was navigable for canoes below the mouth of Herron's Branch. Concerning the former navigability of the Conococheague there would appear to be little, if any, reasonable doubt. It is, I should infer, in its lower reaches a gentle, even sluggish stream, and sufficiently deep for canoe travel.⁶

Now, as to the possible uses of this "land carriage" which we believe to have formerly existed between the eastern or main branch of the Conococheague and the Conodoguinet, let me, in conclusion, hazard some suggestions:

Conodoguinet Creek empties into Susquehanna River opposite to the city of Harrisburg. This place lay far above the Susquehannock fort of historical times. It was above many rapids and cataracts of the lower river. People of the Five Nations, wishing to descend in canoes into the country now embraced within the states of Maryland and Virginia, might, by making a "carry" between the waters of Conodoguinet Creek and the waters of Conococheague Creek, avoid hostile contacts with the Susquehannocks at their fort on the lower Susquehanna, enjoying at the same time a much shorter route into the heart of the country, than that by way of the mouth of the Susquehanna and the possibly stormy Chesapeake. There is a well known passage in the Journal of Henry Fleete (1632) about the protection accorded to the "Nacostines," the Anacostan Indians of Potomac River, by the "Massomacks or Cannyda Indians" (Massawomecks = Iroquois see *Handbook of American Indians*, Vol. 2, p. 1087).⁷ The Anacostans, whose fort was on the south side of the Eastern Branch of Potomac, otherwise called Anacostia Creek,⁸ "have used to convey all such English truck as cometh into the river to the

⁶ Maps of the lower and middle reaches of these two creeks show many meanders, a sure sign of slow, deep water.

⁷ The Journal of Henry Fleete, in Neill's *Founders of Maryland*, p. 25.

⁸ The site of this old fort is known from old land records of the neighborhood. I hope some day to publish a paper on this subject.

Massomacks." So Fleete informs us. Does anyone seriously believe that the route over which this trade was carried lay (first) down the Potomac, then up Chesapeake to the mouth of the Susquehanna, and so on up the Susquehanna, past numberless falls and rapids, and, more formidable still, the Susquehannock fort, where confiscation of the goods, if not murder of the bearers, lay in wait? It took the Susquehannocks two days to travel in canoes from Palmer's Island, near the mouth of the Susquehanna, to their fort on the river, about forty miles distant.⁹ Of course, there were Indian paths which led up out of Maryland towards the country of the Five Nations; but of the two possible means of travel which were employed in this particular trade the use of canoes seems to me by far the more probable. Notice should be taken of the small number of days required by Captain Fleete's brother, Edward, to go from the place where their ship was anchored (within the limits of the present District of Columbia) to the country of the "Massomacks," and to return to meet the captain again at the falls (Little Falls) of the Potomac. The time consumed, so it is alleged, was "seven days going and five days coming back."¹⁰ As Fleete mentions no mishap encountered by his brother on this Journey, which might have caused delay, are we to infer a going which was up-stream most of the way and a return mostly down-stream? Perhaps this is the meaning of the difference. In a letter, dated February 20, 1638, and addressed to Lord Baltimore, Father Andrew White suggests that three trading posts be established in Maryland: "the one at Palmers Ile for the trade of the Sasquehannoes, the other att Nantiakoke for all the easterne foreland and the third at the Anacostans for the Massomecks."¹¹ It is obvious that, if the Anacostans had

⁹ The Journal of Cyprian Thorowgood, manuscript of 1634 belonging to Dr. Hugh Hampton Young and now on exhibition at the Pratt Library, Baltimore, Maryland.

¹⁰ The Journal of Henry Fleete, in Neill's *Founders of Maryland*, p. 27.

¹¹ "Massomecks" is the spelling in the original manuscript, which belongs to the Maryland Historical Society. In Fund Publication No. 35, in which this letter is printed, the word appears as "Mattomeckes," an error which is most misleading.

been accustomed to use the lower Susquehanna and Chesapeake Bay in carrying on their trade with the Iroquois, one trading post at Palmer's Island would have sufficed for them and for the Susquehannocks. Evidently they did not use this route.

The trade route between English Virginia and the Five Nations, via the Anacostans, as it existed before 1632, is unknown; but it seems highly probable to me, in view of the data herewith submitted, that it made use of Potomac River between the Eastern Branch and the mouth of Conococheague Creek; of Conococheague Creek and its main, or eastern, branch to a point not more than three and a half miles above the site of Chambersburg; of the lower part of Herron's Branch, and of Conodoguinet Creek from the mouth of that "branch" down to Susquehanna River. Between Conococheague Creek and Herron's Branch of Conodoguinet Creek there was a "carry" of about eight miles over gently rolling land. In my opinion this was a very ancient route for canoe travel, known, perhaps, long before 1632, and still in use in 1721. Assuming it to be proved that the "Carrying Place" was on Herron's Branch, and that my inference, that this place was the northern end of the portage path, is correct, I do not maintain that the contribution of Herron's Branch towards shortening the "carry" could have been anything but a minor one. It saved, maybe, a mile or so, since its lower course lay in the desired direction. A heavily laden canoe might have been towed up the "branch" and eased over the shallows, to the "Carrying Place," where it was unloaded for the trip overland to the Conococheague. I offer these data and theories to the reader, trusting that not only the facts, but the surmises, may seem worthy of serious consideration. There is good reason to believe that a "back way" for canoe travel between the Susquehanna and the Potomac formerly existed and was used by the natives of the country. Here we have indications of such a frequented route as the one we seek to identify. Was there another? Perhaps; but on topographical grounds it seems hardly likely.

JOHN NELSON MCJILTON.

HUMORIST, DIVINE, EDUCATOR.

By W. BIRD TERWILLIGER.

In the days before residence in New York City became a prerequisite to any degree of literary pretension, Baltimore, like Boston and Philadelphia, maintained her own literary coteries, published her own magazines, and even achieved some reputation as a publishing center, giving to the world no inconsiderable number of books which are now collectors' items. In the second quarter of the last century, the Monumental City was the scene of prodigious literary activity, and among her writers were several of no little ability, who, either through their writing alone or through their achievements in various fields, profoundly influenced the development of their state, and, directly or indirectly, of their nation. However, Poe's four years in the city, his longer association with its literary life, and his tragic death and burial there have been the subject of so much research and discussion that little attention has been given to the host of other writers who, through all or part of their lives, contributed to the thought and culture of Maryland.

Among the better of these were some who, had they constituted a similar group in Boston, would not today be virtually unknown. John P. Kennedy, cabinet member under President Fillmore and representative of Baltimore in both state and national legislative bodies, established a magazine, the *Red Book*; published several novels, among them two, *Swallow Barn* and *Horse Shoe Robinson*, of better than average quality; and was Mr. Peabody's chief aide in the preparation of his plans for the Peabody Institute. To Kennedy also belongs the singular distinction of having written the fourth chapter in Volume Two of Thackeray's *The Virginians*.¹ Rufus Dawes was

¹ *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX, 333.

the editor of the *Emerald*, one of the two Baltimore magazines to attain a high degree of literary excellence.² Timothy Shay Arthur, who lived in Baltimore from 1817 to 1841, was not only the author of *Ten Nights in a Bar-Room*. He wrote creditable poetry, edited several magazines in Baltimore and Philadelphia, published a score or more of novels, and collaborated with William H. Carpenter, another Baltimore poet, in preparing school histories of various states.³ There were also Brantz Mayer, Secretary of Legation in Mexico, editor of the *American*, executor of the McDonough estate, president of the Baltimore Library Company, and one of the founders of the Maryland Historical Society; ⁴ James Hungerford, one of the finest poets of the group and the author of *Old Plantation*, a narrative of life in Virginia; ⁵ John Hill Hewitt, composer, critic, and writer, who edited the *Saturday Morning Visitor*, submitted a poem in a contest conducted by his own paper, which won in competition with Poe's *Coliseum*, and is said to have come to blows with Poe over the matter; ⁶ and John Nelson McJilton, humorist, divine, and educator.⁷

Born in Baltimore on February 9, 1806,⁸ John Nelson McJil-

² J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County from the Earliest Period to the Present Day*, II, 647.

³ *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 377.

⁴ Scharf, II, 650.

⁵ Scharf, II, 646.

⁶ *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 606.

⁷ The writers mentioned above, and the magazines referred to later, will be treated more adequately in the study of which this paper is a part.

⁸ My chief sources of information during the preparation of this biographical study were the following: *The Poets and Verse Writers of Maryland*, by George C. Perine, *Shadows on the Wall*, by John Hill Hewitt, *History of Baltimore City and County from the Earliest Period to the Present Day*, by J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Freemasonry in Maryland*, by Edward T. Schultz, the files of the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, *The Baltimore Athenaeum and Young Men's Paper*, the *Baltimore Monument* (also called the *Baltimore Literary Monument*), and the annual reports of the Board of School Commissioners of Baltimore City. The main facts concerning McJilton's life are given by both Perine and Scharf, and where they are in accord, I have not given specific references.

No month and day are given by any of the sources for McJilton's birth. All give the year as 1805. The headstone at his grave, however, in Green-

ton began public life in the double capacity in which his father had served the people of Baltimore for many years: that of cabinet maker and Methodist lay preacher. Apparently more bookishly inclined than his father, however, or at least more fortunate in his opportunities for advancement, he studied to prepare himself for orders, in the meantime contributing to the various ephemeral literary periodicals which blossomed in Baltimore during the twenties and thirties.

In 1834 he entered the field of periodical literature in his own right. On June 6 of that year, he, with William T. Leonard and J. L. Cary, edited the first number of the *Baltimore Athenaeum and Young Men's Paper*, a magazine of some literary and great moral pretensions, and the semi-official organ of the Young Men's Society, which was at that time a strong organization devoted to the moral and intellectual welfare of youth. It was not until November 27, 1834, that the second number of the *Athenaeum* appeared, with T. S. Arthur replacing Cary on the editorial staff. A few weeks later, Leonard also withdrew, leaving the work in the hands of McJilton and Arthur. The *Athenaeum* was published regularly on Saturdays for two years, until, in spite of its popularity, publication was stopped on account of financial difficulties. McJilton had, however, because of the press of other business, relinquished the editorship in January, 1836, although he was a frequent contributor until the end.

In spite of the failure of his first venture, McJilton was confident that Baltimore would support a literary weekly, and on October 8, 1836, brought out the first number of *The Baltimore Monument, a weekly journal devoted to polite literature, science, and the fine arts, embellished with engravings and music*. David Creamer, the hymnologist, was his publisher and co-editor, but it is evident that his duties in the latter capacity were nominal, as McJilton's personality is stamped on every page.

mount Cemetery, Baltimore, gives the date of his birth as February 9, 1806, and I have taken this to be the correct date.

The contents of the *Monument* ran the gamut from homilies on gambling and drink to recipes for tomato pie. "Embellished with engravings and music" was no idle publisher's boast, and these embellishments were not without merit. The literary level of the magazine surpassed that of the earlier *Athenaeum*, for in addition to T. S. Arthur, there were numerous gifted contributors. Among the better ones were E. Y. Reese, whose *Methodist Protestant* became one of the more literary religious journals a few years later, Brantz Mayer, John Hill Hewitt, who, besides writing articles and verse, composed excellent lyrics for the *Monument*, and James Hungerford and J. G. Percival, whose poetry even today makes rather pleasant the reading of those magazines of a century ago. There was a column of book reviews, the work of McJilton, in which appeared many sound criticisms, with occasionally, however, the customary eulogies of tenth-rate productions by authors then in fashion, such as Lucy Seymour and Miss Sedgwick.

After two years, the *Monument* also proved unprofitable, whereupon it was changed to a monthly, with T. S. Arthur succeeding Creamer as co-editor. The character of the magazine was little changed, certainly not for the better. There were more long stories than formerly; there was less verse, and that of a very inferior quality; and there were almost no editorials or critical reviews. It, likewise, folded up at the end of two years, sharing the common fate of literary periodicals in Baltimore. John Hill Hewitt, in his *Shadows on the Wall*, an entertaining but inaccurate volume of reminiscences, says in this connection:

I have hinted at the opinion I have always cherished, that no strictly literary journal published in the city of Baltimore will pay; and, if it does not pay, it cannot continue to exist.*

In reference to the *Monument* in particular, Hewitt reprinted the following extract from an editorial he had written for the *Baltimore Clipper* of October 20, 1840:

* *Shadows on the Wall*, p. 56.

We will name these shipwrecked editors, in the order given them by the *Visitor*, not presuming to rank them according to their desserts.

J. N. McJilton, Esq., late editor of the *Monument*. This should have read, editor of the late *Monument*, for that literary work, reared on so stupendous an intellectual foundation, did not prove its durability equal to the towering memento which overlooks our city. It was a beautifully printed work; and in saying that, we give it all the praise it deserves. After a brief struggle it died. Verdict, too much pedantry.¹⁰

It may be that the gradual decline in the quality of McJilton's editorial judgment, with the eventual collapse of his periodicals, was due to the increasing amount of attention required by his other interests: namely, education and the church. Throughout his editorial career he manifested an interest in education, writing frequent editorials on the subject, and in 1835, while he was still editing the *Athenaeum*, he was elected teacher of Male School No. 1, then as now located at Fayette and Greene Streets.¹¹ In the same year he had married Miss Sarah Davie, and he was already established in the community as a man of upright and dependable character, as is shown by the following extract from the report of the Baltimore Board of School Commissioners for 1835:

The recommendations by which the latter gentleman [McJilton] was sustained in his application, shew that he possesses the confidence of the inhabitants of the section of the city in which the school is situated, and induce a belief that in a short time, the number of scholars in that institution will be largely increased. The discipline at present enforced, is one of lenity and firmness, and cannot fail, as the Board believe, to render the school permanently popular and promote the best interests of the pupils.¹²

In his second year in this position, McJilton submitted, at the request of the Board, an outline of the organization and routine of his school, which was incorporated in the annual

¹⁰ *Shadows on the Wall*, p. 57.

¹¹ School Reports, 1829-1848. Report for December 31, 1835, p. 68.

¹² *Ibid.*

report for 1836. Until 1839 he held this position, performing his duties with so much satisfaction to the Board that he came to be regarded by that body as a sort of senior teacher, and his school, the standard by which others were measured.

His preparations for the church were now complete, however, and in 1840, a few months after resigning his teaching position, he was ordained by Bishop Whittingham a deacon in the Protestant Episcopal Church, having forsaken the humble followers of Wesley. A year later he was ordained priest, and made assistant rector of Christ Church. He was also made rector of St. James Church, African, in the same year. He resigned from Christ Church at the beginning of 1842, but retained his rectorship at St. James. In 1844, he was made rector of St. Stephen's, but remained also as rector at St. James. He had already attracted attention as an eloquent and powerful preacher to the extent that, at public request, the church published for distribution his sermon delivered on the Sunday succeeding the presidential election of 1844.

The next twelve years were busy ones for McJilton. He was for several years Chancellor of the short-lived Newton University. He was elected a member of the Board of School Commissioners in 1845, and was at about the same time made a Mason at Warren Lodge No. 9. In 1847 he was made chaplain at the Maryland Hospital for the Insane, in addition to the two charges he already held. During this year he found time to write a novel, *Lizzy Larkin*, for the pupils of St. Stephen's Sunday School, although the increasing demands upon his time compelled him to resign from the Board of School Commissioners. When the Maryland Association for the Encouragement of Literature and the Arts was organized in 1847, McJilton was the first president, and the opening address which he delivered before the members and their friends on January 6, 1848, shows him at his best as a thinker and orator. He resigned as rector of St. James in 1848, only to enter upon heavier duties in 1849, when he was elected Treasurer to the Board of School Commissioners, a position which at that time entailed greater duties than are implied in the title, of which more later.

In 1852, McJilton and John Monmonier, also active in public school work, compiled a textbook, *High School Literature*, for use in the schools of the city. In the same year, McJilton edited and published *The Poetical and Prose Works of John Lofland, the Milford Bard*, Lofland being a personal friend of McJilton, and a versifier of some local renown but of little poetic ability, whose bibulous inclinations and irregular mode of life had estranged him from most of the respectable citizens of Maryland.

After his initiation into Freemasonry, McJilton entered enthusiastically into the work of the brotherhood, and in 1856 he was made High Priest in Jerusalem Lodge No. 9. From 1860 to 1865 he was Eminent Commander of the Maryland Commandery of Knights Templars, and in 1862 he was Grand Master and Grand High Priest of the Maryland Freemasons. He was also Grand Chaplain for several years. It is characteristic of the man that some of the reports he submitted in connection with his various fraternal offices ran to more than three hundred pages in length.¹³

Owing to the extensive duties involved in the office of Treasurer to the Board of School Commissioners, McJilton resigned his rectorship at St. Stephen's in 1853 and devoted the greater part of his time to the service of the public schools of Baltimore, but he remained chaplain at the hospital, was an active Mason, and was frequently called upon to deliver sermons on special occasions in the important churches of the city, although, by virtue of natural ability and considerable experience as lay preacher and ordained priest, he was able to produce eloquent sermons on demand, with a minimum of effort. Among the more noteworthy of his sermons preached by request are the one delivered on the Sunday after the death of Henry Clay, and two Thanksgiving sermons preached in the early years of the Civil War.

Another circumstance which added considerable weight to his labors in these years was his connection with the *Baltimore*

¹³ Edward T. Schultz, *History of Freemasonry in Maryland*, III, pp. 818-819.

Patriot, a political and commercial journal established in support of James Madison in 1811, and influential in Maryland politics until after the Civil War. McJilton participated in the financial and editorial management throughout the forties, becoming part owner in 1849. In 1854 he bought the journal outright, but sold it in 1856.¹⁴

The office of Treasurer to the Board of School Commissioners, McJilton's chief interest for nearly twenty years, consisted not only of the management of the financial affairs of the schools, but also of the general supervision later delegated to the Superintendent of Public Instruction. It was the Treasurer's duty to interview candidates for teaching positions, study curricula and make recommendations, supervise the choice of textbooks, visit the schools to observe their operation, and inspect new and old buildings. All these matters were included in the Treasurer's report at the end of the year, in addition to an itemized report of income and expenses for the year. Evidently McJilton thoroughly enjoyed his work in this position; he was sincerely interested in the cause of public education, and in his voluminous reports he found ample opportunity to exercise his flair for elaborate rhetoric.

He was extremely thorough in matters of detail. When, in 1836, as teacher of Male School No. 1, he was requested to submit a report of the daily routine of his school, he accounted for his school day, from nine till four, in approximately ten-minute periods. As treasurer he was no less conscientious. In 1861, he made 427 visits to he several schools, and in 1862, 559 visits. He frequently included in his reports the daily schedules of several of the larger schools, with comments upon their suitability. He submitted every two or three years a list of all textbooks used in the schools, giving the reasons for their adoption. (In 1847 he was a member of a committee of the Board, which submitted a recommendation that the Board prepare its own texts.) His reports also occasionally included essays of nearly a hundred pages in length on the science of education:

¹⁴ Scharf, II, 612.

its purpose and the most efficient means of providing it. He was a faithful attendant at educational meetings throughout the states, and carried to and from them a wealth of ideas, some of which are today incorporated in the soundest pedagogical theories in practice.

McJilton compiled two textbooks in addition to the *High School Literature* in which he collaborated with Monmonier: *The Maryland Primary Arithmetic, designed for the use of public and private schools*, 1856, and *The Maryland Primary Grammar, designed for beginners in the study of the science*, 1857.

He was the advocate of many reforms in the school system; one of these was a reorganization of the administrative department, with the appointment of a Superintendent of Public Instruction. From 1849 to 1866 he insisted that such an office was necessary, but it was not until the latter year that he persuaded the Board and the City Council to create the position, transferring the other duties of the Treasurer to the City Register. When the office was created, the Board, as was fitting, appointed to the position McJilton, who had been performing its duties for nearly eighteen years.

A year after his elevation to the position of Superintendent, McJilton entered into a long correspondence with the Reverend John Hecker, clergyman, educator, and philanthropist, who had formerly been one of the inspectors of the public schools of New York City. He received from Hecker a copy of "his extended pamphlet, proposing a method of classifying the pupils of schools according to their temperaments."¹⁵ In his annual report for 1867, McJilton devoted many pages to an exposition of Hecker's theories, without clarifying them or making them appear tenable. It was the first educational fad which he, for thirty-two years an active worker in the field of education, had embraced.

At about this same time, the question of the education of

¹⁵ Annual Report of the Board of School Commissioners of Baltimore City, 1867, p. 94.

Negro children was causing dissension in Baltimore as well as in communities farther south. McJilton, not entirely without the sanction of his Board, established two schools for colored children in 1866 and 1867. No direct appropriation for such schools had been made, however, and the City Register refused to pay the bills for building maintenance and teachers' salaries. The controversy soon attracted the attention of the general public, as well as of the school authorities, and opinion, as was to be expected in Baltimore, was sharply divided on the subject. In a letter to the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser* for January 18, 1867, McJilton defended the supporters of public schools for Negroes, maintaining that these schools automatically became a part of the school system, and that as such they are entitled to a share in the common school funds. It was many years before the question was settled satisfactorily, but McJilton did not long remain a party to the discussion.

Whether through his advocacy of Hecker's educational theories, or through his stand in regard to the education of Negroes, or, perhaps, through mere politics, which were dirty from cross-roads to capital in those days, rather than through either of these circumstances, McJilton fell into disfavor with his Board of School Commissioners in 1867, and was removed from office. The facts in the case are not available. It was not until nearly half a century later that the Board began to preserve the minutes of the meetings, and the newspapers of the day were too occupied with the proceedings of Congress and the efforts to impeach Andrew Johnson to give more than passing notice to local school affairs. On the morning after one of the weekly meetings of the Board, the following appeared in the report of the meeting as printed in the *American*:

Whereas, It is the opinion of this board that the efficiency of the public school system of this city will be promoted by a change in the chief executive officer of public instruction in the same; therefore,

Resolved, That the Rev. John N. McJilton, D. D., be re-

moved from the office of Superintendent of Public Schools, and that the removal take effect on the last day of January, 1868.¹⁶

In the annual report of the Board the following brief statement is the only reference made to the change in administrative officers:

Within a few months after the election of the present Board, it was considered advisable to make a change in the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction.¹⁷

Mr. William R. Creery, for several years a teacher in the Baltimore schools, was elected Superintendent on January 14, 1868, and was installed in office on February 1.

Even before the inauguration of his successor, however, McJilton had removed from Baltimore to New York City, where he became Reverend Hecker's assistant. He was also made rector of the Madison Street Protestant Episcopal Chapel there, but gave up both positions within a few months on account of ill health. He died in New York on April 13, 1875, and his body was brought to Baltimore to be buried in the family plot in Greenmount Cemetery there.

It must be admitted that it is as a writer that John McJilton is least worthy of recognition. His humor is heavy and crude, save in an occasional poem, though not greatly inferior to much that won the acclaim of the critics of the past century. There is in it a mixture of Philip Freneau, Washington Irving, and Artemus Ward: there is, in fact, considerable evidence that he was a conscious imitator of Irving. He wrote prolifically, under so many pseudonyms that much of his work can with difficulty or not at all be identified. His favorite pseudonym as a humorist was "Giles McQuiggan," and, as a serious writer, "The Stranger." Unfortunately, "The Stranger" was a common signature in the magazines to which he contributed;

¹⁶ *The Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, Wednesday, December 11, 1867.

¹⁷ Annual Report of the Board of School Commissioners of Baltimore City, 1868, p. 1.

consequently even the work thus signed must be identified by other means.

John Hill Hewitt says of him:

John N. McJilton . . . was one of my most industrious correspondents. [Hewitt was at that time editing the *Saturday Morning Visitor*.] His favorite signature was "Giles McQuiggan"; his style was racy, but crude. He has published a volume of poems; some of them are truly meritorious, and entitle him to rank among the first of our bards; while others want verve, and might be placed in competition with the mental efforts of a romantic schoolgirl. . . . In his associations, Mr. McJilton was an amiable man, good-humored and modest.¹⁸

As might be expected, he is neither so bad nor so good as Hewitt's statements indicate. He is always far below "the first of our bards," and never descends quite to the level of "the mental efforts of a romantic schoolgirl." Much of his work, however, especially of that which he had to write to fill out lean numbers of his magazines, is very bad. In his attempts at light humorous verse, he frequently exhibits all the grace of a dancing elephant, but there are passages, delicate and whimsical, not inferior to Freneau's poetry, which they sometimes resemble. Perhaps not the best of these, but certainly typical of them, is his *To a Musquito*, which appeared in the *Monument* for October 10, 1838, and was later reprinted in his collected poems. The following stanzas illustrate its best and worst qualities:

TO A MUSQUITO

By GILES McQUIGGAN

Be gone you starveling-illstarred creature,
So lank of limb and gaunt of feature,
You luckless, witless, foolish thing!
How dare you enter one's upstairs,
And get upon his ears to sing?
And whether he's at books or prayers,
You come with your eternal song,

¹⁸ *Shadows on the Wall*, p. 48.

Whu-u-u-whut, and who can read
Or pray with any kind of speed,
You spider-legged imp!—go long!

You tap the saint as well as sinner,
And good or bad—it's for your dinner:
Their carcasses seem all the same,
And you are no philosopher
To cant and quibble o'er a name,—
And grumble when a term you hear
Expressed a little out of rule,—
In this, the world you imitate,
You rob both rich and desolate,
Nor for the wise forsake the fool.

To rhyme much more, it's not for me to
About your manners, friend Musquito,
I've had about as much to do
With you and yours, as I could wish,
And now I must insist that you
Will go elsewhere and seek a dish,
For past misdoings no amends
Forever will I ask of thee,
But when you next may visit me
I hope you'll not invite your friends.¹⁹

This poem illustrates the greatest weakness of McJilton's humor, in both prose and verse: his conclusions. More often than not, after a good start, he is unable to come to a point, and the piece wilts away to an anticlimatic finish, leaving the reader with a feeling that he has been sold.

Better than average in this respect is *Eveline Torrance*.²⁰ Eveline had eleven suitors, none of whom pleased her mother, who, having herself married a poor man, was determined that Eveline should dismiss the whole eleven, and choose a man of means. But Eveline's affections became fixed upon one of them, Jeremiah McKinster, a mechanic. Mrs. Torrance, horrified, chose a fat man whose only qualification was that he owned a frame house, and forbade Jeremiah McKinster her

¹⁹ *Poems*, p. 120.

²⁰ *The Monument*, October 29, 1836, Volume L, p. 25.

daughter's company. When the lovers continued to meet, contrary to her commands, she set about plotting with the fat suitor how they might dispose of McKinster. Mrs. Torrance suggested a duel, which was not to the liking of the fat one. The conclusion is one of McJilton's best.

After some discussion it was agreed upon, that Mr. Jeremiah McKinster should undergo a cow-hiding, and be compelled to renounce, before witnesses, any pretensions that he might be *suspected*—for the whole thing was yet upon suspicion—of having toward Miss Eveline Torrance. Preliminaries were soon arranged, and the duplicate of Daniel Lambert essayed to the use of his supple weapon upon the dorsal region of Mr. Jeremiah McKinster—the thing according to agreement was to be done in open day, and in sight of the Torrance house, where the glorious deed might be witnessed by the family. As Jeremiah passed the house daily, to and from his place of business, the opportunity was soon obtained, and the parties met; the fat lover, after the statement of his purposes, and the offer of a moment's time for his rival to renounce all claim to Miss Torrance, which kind offer was most indignantly refused—commenced his operations—whereupon Mr. Jeremiah McKinster seized upon the cowhide, wrested it from his hand, and whaled him in the most genteel manner imaginable. This feat was performed in the sight of Mrs. Torrance and Eveline, and while the one bit her lips with rage, the other looked upon the scene with much satisfaction. This was the last of the fat lover, for he never appeared in the presence of his mother law [sic] in *prospect* again. Jerry was complete master of the field, and one evening, when no one dreamed of such a piece of business, he and Miss Eveline walked over to the parson's, and were pronounced by him, before they left his house, "one flesh." This happy fact was announced immediately upon their arrival at home, and after a few volleys from the old lady, Mr. McKinster stated that he was the owner of three brick houses, when suddenly her tongue ceased, and the thing was made up—much to the satisfaction of *all* parties. Jerry is now a man of wealth—he has been elected to the legislature in the state in which he lives, several years in succession, and enjoys the confidence of his friends, particularly old Mrs. Torrance, who daily applauds her daughter for the discriminating powers she exercised in the choice of a husband.

At its worst, McJilton's humor is very heavy indeed. He created abominable puns, italicized freely, and enclosed innumerable phrases in quotation marks for no apparent reason. In both style and subject matter he shows the influence of Irving, but he fails to do credit to his master, although occasionally his versions of old legends are not unpleasant reading.

In his serious writing, McJilton exhibits the same uneven qualities that are apparent in his humor. Much of his verse is inscribed to members of his family, and is even more sentimental than was warranted by the spirit of the times. *Beech Hill*,²¹ a poem describing in glowing terms the country home of Robert Gilmor, and lauding Mr. Gilmor, who had presented McJilton with an engraving of the house at Beech Hill, for preserving a scene of great natural beauty, brought its author considerable attention and has since been referred to as among the best of his verse. The following are the opening and concluding stanzas:

How many scenes of seasons past,
The picture doth renew!
The flowery scenes of love and truth,
As vivid and as true
As when their burning light was on
My youthful heart and brow;
And though they sleep with buried years,
They're memory's treasures now.

Long may'st thou live and bloom as now
And treasure be to him—
Above the sordid gains of life,
By wiser years made dim,
And other feet may walk on thee,
And hearts be glad as mine;
While worshiping the gathered past,
At Memory's sacred shrine.

Superior to *Beech Hill*, however, are *The Triumph of Liberty*²² and *The Tomb of Bozzaris*.²³ The former, which was read before a meeting of the Associated Literary and Scientific

²¹ Poems, p. 84.²² Poems, p. 13.²³ Poems, p. 71.

Societies on July 4, 1848, contains the bad verse found in all occasional poems, but also includes some passages of poetic quality. Its theme is one which every truly patriotic American poet of the early nineteenth century employed at least once: the glorification of Americanism. The author traces the history of mankind from Adam, who for a time enjoyed liberty, through the rise and fall of Assyria, Egypt, Greece, and Rome, to modern times. Then he pictures the Genius of Liberty seeking a new home, and eventually finding it in the New World. He concludes with the successful termination of the Revolutionary War.

The Tomb of Bozzaris is perhaps his finest poem. Although it, too, treats a hackneyed subject, it shows McJilton at his best. The following are two of the better stanzas:

And many years o'er Greece must fly
Ere she that freedom may attain;
And many a valiant head must lie
As low as her Bozzaris slain,
Before the laurel circlet clasp
Her brow, so mangled now, so torn,
Still bleeding in the tyrant's grasp
As though no jewels it had worn.
She trembles at the tyrant's will,
But Greece in gloom is lovely still.

O Greece! thou hast indeed a name,
A glory that may never fade;
Though past may be thy years of fame,
Thy heroes in the tomb be laid,
But still there is a majesty
About thy being, live that must,
When nations that have trampled thee
Are mingled with oblivion's dust.
There is in thy proud sun though set,
A grandeur that doth gild thee yet.

In his serious prose, McJilton is too moral, too much the old Methodist lay preacher. He wrote two novels, *Lizzy Larkin*, which I have mentioned before, and *Hester Harris, or Worth and Its Reward: a Story of Life* (1856). Both are extremely

sentimental, written with no regard for style, and both describe the tribulations of virtue, with its ultimate triumph over the powers of evil. In the preface to *Lizzy Larkin*, which purports to be a true story, the author says of his heroine:

Her most earnest prayer was that God would bless her in her efforts to be a true and faithful Christian, so that she might always be prepared for death.²⁴

This cheerful spirit is maintained throughout both novels, and McJilton's shorter stories and articles are of a similar nature. *Herbert Harris*,²⁵ the story of the horrible death of a young infidel, concludes with the following words:

We thought he would die easy, and while talking of his departure, the clock struck three—then as if by some sudden convulsion of his whole body, he sprung about two feet above his bed, and crying "ah I come," fell precisely as he had lain before. For some moments we were speechless, and when we recovered from the surprise into which this strange act had thrown us, finding he was perfectly still, we proceeded to examine his body; he was still warm, a clammy sweat was on his flesh, and the terrible contortion of his countenance bespoke the agony in which his spirit had taken its flight.

The publication of literature of this kind might, at first thought, be considered cause enough for the failure of the *Monument*, but it must be remembered that the readers were accustomed to it; it was in the spirit of the times, and was considered a most wholesome literary diet.

McJilton was under no delusions as to the quality of his work. In the preface to the volume of his poems which he published in 1840, he wrote:

While engaged in writing the poems, no thought of future fame obtruded to mar the pleasures of composition, which have been adequate to the labor expended in their production. They are the offsprings of the heart; their errors those of an inoffensive muse, which, however, is as independent as unpretending,

²⁴ *Lizzy Larkin*, p. 1.

²⁵ *The Monument*, October 8, 1836, Volume I, p. 1.

and presents its efforts alike to "cormorant and commoner," expecting each without "favor or affection" to dispose of them according to his pleasure.²⁶

There was present in all his literary activity one or more of three objectives: to further the cause of education, to point a moral, or to foster a spirit of nationalism. The first will be discussed in connection with his work in that field; of the second, ample evidence has been given in the passages quoted above; as to the third, the magazines which he edited were established with the avowed purpose of providing an outlet for native genius. Hewitt diagnosed the fatal malady of the *Athenaeum* as "too much encouragement of native genius."²⁷ The editorial platform of all three, and of the *Patriot*, was distinctly nationalistic. In the *Athenaeum* for May 30, 1835, there was reprinted from the *Knickerbocker* an article on American Literature. The following is an extract from the editorial comment upon the article:

There can be no question of the injurious tendency which a large portion of the popular literary productions of England has upon our social habits and feelings, and on this subject the writer's views are perfectly coincident with our own. Popular prejudice, in spite of the convictions of common sense, will gradually take its character from the tone of popular literary productions; and this is the reason why we want a literature that shall not shed an attractive but illusive glare upon aristocratic exclusiveness, nor give to rank and wealth that factitious consequence which strikes at once at the foundation of our national institutions.²⁸

It is evident that literary excellence was a matter of secondary importance.

That McJilton was not devoid of literary judgment may be established through a study of his critical articles. As I have said earlier, he frequently fell into the error of mistaking moral earnestness for literary ability, as in the case of Mrs. Sigourney or of Miss Sedgwick, but he was not alone, and when he dif-

²⁶ *Poems*, p. vi.

²⁷ *Shadows on the Wall*, p. 58.

²⁸ *The Baltimore Athenaeum*, I, 222.

ferred from public opinion, the soundness of many of his verdicts has been proved by time. He did not join in the general acclaim accorded by Americans to Edward Bulwer-Lytton. In a long article in the *Monument*, he compares Bulwer and Scott, and, while he is perhaps too kind to Scott, his appraisal of Bulwer is sound. He calls Bulwer's characters "creatures of fancy."²⁹ "Where is the character in all the works of Bulwer," he asks, "that will bear any comparison with Old Mortality?"³⁰ He says also, "Bulwer still strives to make it [his work] more perfect, and a few extra touches of his pencil renders fulsome what is unfinished without them."³¹ And again, "Bulwer writes to tickle the imagination, and his work will only please so long as that subtle property of the mind is under excitement."³²

I have said that he was influenced by Irving. Here is his judgment upon his master:

Irving has done as much perhaps as any other American in the cause of American literature; his superior as a writer is scarcely to be found in this or any other country.³³

This in spite of Irving's frequent choice of foreign subjects.

Although McJilton's active participation in religious work extended over a part of his life only, and at no time commanded his exclusive attention, he was not without distinction in that field. Completely orthodox, he remained, however, strangely tolerant, and while he hurled mighty thunderbolts at the evils of the day, he was never unsympathetic toward those who had fallen from the path of grace. He was an advocate of temperance, yet in one of his best stories, *The Bride of the Barrens*,³⁴ he good-humoredly relates how he and a brother clergyman officiated at a wedding which, thanks to an idiosyncrasy of the bride, could not be solemnized until all present, including the preachers, had united in polishing off the contents of innu-

²⁹ *The Monument*, December 16, 1837, Volume II, p. 84.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *The Monument*, March 3, 1838, Volume II, p. 172.

³⁴ *The Monument*, November 12, 1836, Volume I, p. 42.

merable stone jugs, supplied by the bride's mother from a seemingly inexhaustible supply in the cellar.

Every event of national or local importance had for him a moral significance, and many such incidents were made the subject of excellent sermons. In one of the earliest of his published sermons, that delivered after the presidential election of 1844, he pointed out that government is a divine establishment, to which man is bound to submit; that to resist the laws, once made, when they infringe not on the laws of God, is to resist God; and that, following a political campaign in which the party spirit ran high and much wrong was done, the nation's duty now was to obey and serve God.³⁵

He never allowed politics to enter his pulpit, and he rebuked severely those ministers who made use of their position to further the interests of political parties, saying of them, "The ministers of the sanctuary have become politicians and partizans."³⁶

Although not in sympathy with the doctrines of Andrew Jackson, McJilton allowed no trace of his opinions to appear in the sermon which he preached on the Sunday after Jackson's death. "What we have to do with his name and actions," he said, "is to draw from them such lessons of spiritual instruction as become the sanctuary of God."³⁷ There was bitter sectional feeling in the land at that time, and one of the lessons McJilton drew from Jackson's death was its effect in uniting the people of the nation, though in grief. He saw it as a timely act of Providence, and plead that the people might take the hint of Providence and remain united. As a second lesson, he pointed out that Jackson died "a practical believer in the Christian faith"³⁸ and that we, the lowly, might profit by the example of the great. The sermon, for which McJilton chose as a text the words, "Be still, and know that I am God,"³⁹

³⁵ *Man's Duty to the Civil Government and to God: a Sermon.*

³⁶ *A Nation Making Light of Religion in the Time of Its Calamity: a Sermon*, p. 16.

³⁷ *God Speaketh: a Sermon*, p. 9.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

³⁹ *Psalms*, 46, 10.

concludes with a warning that the occasion of its delivery came as a reminder of the instability of human life: a warning to the wicked, an encouragement to the faithful.

In his sermon on the death of Henry Clay,⁴⁰ preached at St. Stephen's on July 4, 1852, McJilton made a stand for unionism, stating that Clay's greatest services to the nation had been his efforts in that direction.

Two Thanksgiving sermons, those of 1861 and 1862, both preached by special invitation, as McJilton was no longer serving a congregation, are, however, among the most powerful of those that have been preserved. The first, preached on November 28, 1861, has for its title, *Our National Degeneracy the Cause of Our National Troubles*. It is organized in a masterly fashion upon the text, "I have a goodly heritage."⁴¹ We have a goodly heritage, he says, in a threefold way: 1. In our nationality. We have reached the highest point of attainment in the useful arts. Our constitution is perfect, the result of prayer; under it we have become great. 2. In our domestic and social privileges. We have necessities, comforts, luxuries. We are equal socially. 3. In our religious freedom. There should be no sects, but since there are, we are fortunate in being able to choose our own.

But we have abused our goodly heritage, in all its threefold aspects: 1. In our nationality, for there is no prayer now. No man is elected to office because he is pious. "The demagogue has been made the successor of the true patriot."⁴² He declares that, "The worst sentiment ever introduced by partizan policy is that which declares that 'to the victor belong the spoils,'"⁴³ and points with contempt at the type of men who get the spoils. The only way out of this deplorable state, he says, is for us to become a religious and educated nation. 2. In our domestic and social privileges, for there have sprung up class distinctions, with the wrong class in power. The hope

⁴⁰ *God's Footsteps: a Sermon.*

⁴¹ *Psalms*, 14, 6.

⁴² *Our National Degeneracy the Cause of Our National Troubles: a Sermon*, p. 15.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

of society is in the great middle class, which must neither sink nor rise, but must be enlightened, educated to be useful. 3. In our religious freedom, for the pulpits have become partizan and the churches corrupt. McJilton believed that the war was a scourge of God upon the nation to chastise it for these evils.

Probably his most powerful and eloquent sermon, though not so well organized as the one outlined above, is that which he preached on the next Thanksgiving, November 27, 1862. In it he relates how the covenant of Jehovah was broken by the Israelites, and how as a result the great Jewish people disintegrated. Then he draws the parallel provided by our own people. We have broken the covenant with God; this day, which should be a day of fasting and prayer, is devoted to gluttony; speculation (in food, stores, etc.) is rife; there is sectarianism. What other than a great national calamity is to be expected? It is only the few good people for whose sake we are spared greater evils.⁴⁴

In a century and a country which boasted some eminent divines, these sermons are worthy of being ranked with the best.

Of the three fields in which McJilton labored for forty years, he was most faithful to that of education. He believed in education for the masses, and studied earnestly how it might be made a reality. The same motive lay behind this zeal, I believe, that directed so much of his effort in other fields, his Americanism. Six years of age at the outbreak of the second war with Great Britain, he lived through the most intensely nationalistic period in American History, not without sharing the prevalent enthusiasm concerning the future of his country. Not even Whitman surpassed him in his faith in democracy. It was this belief in the principles of democracy that made him so concerned with the welfare of the public schools, for, he reasoned, and frequently asked, how can men govern themselves well without a knowledge of the aims and purposes of govern-

⁴⁴ *Our Nation Making Light of Its Religion in the Time of Its Calamity: a Sermon.*

ment, and an understanding of the means of accomplishing these purposes? Let him speak for himself:

Humanity must be educated for intelligent citizenship. . . . Had the statesmen and editors of the past half century but directed their efforts to the enlightenment of the people upon the various subjects involved in the character and use of their free institutions, they would have secured the foundation of the Republic as laid by the patriots and patriotic heroes of the Revolution, in such strength and firmness as would have rendered it immovable for ages. Had these statesmen and editors exercised their abilities and opportunities in multiplying the number of competent teachers, and in assisting, and counselling, and encouraging them in the discharge of their obligations in instructing the youth of the times, the people had been fully prepared for their national engagements as American citizens; and it is more than probable that no sectional dangers would now [1860] be feared, nor would any crisis from internal causes be apprehended. Had the teachers of the past been sufficient in number and the right sort of men and women, and had they performed honestly and faithfully the service required of them, mental and moral power of our people would now be sufficient for any emergency that might arise. The peace of the nation would be preserved in the proper measure of its strength, and the confidence of its citizens would be established in their intelligence, patriotism, and virtue. No properly educated nation could possibly tolerate for a single moment the idea of its own destruction.⁴⁵

But it was not only for the sake of the state that McJilton desired a nation of educated men and women; he was interested in the individual as well. He regretted that literature and learning tended to raise a man above labor, rather than to qualify him for it, maintaining that in whatever position, the artisan or laborer would benefit by the acquisition of knowledge, and that all labor would, by the infusion of knowledge into its performance, be raised to a higher level. Business men could profitably learn psychology; farmers, chemistry, and there

⁴⁵ *Importance of the Teacher's Calling, Nationally Considered*, an address delivered before the National Teachers' Association in the city of Buffalo, August 10, 1860, p. 17.

would result, not only greater efficiency in these fields, but, for their practitioners, a higher niche in the social scale. All labor would be dignified by a knowledge of the literature which belongs to it.⁴⁶

With these ends in view, he set about making the education of the children of Baltimore as thorough and as useful as possible. Believing that the foundation determined to a great extent the pupil's attainments, he emphasized the instruction of beginners, and compiled two texts for use in elementary schools, a primary arithmetic and a primary grammar.⁴⁷ Both are small volumes, likely to be scorned by the compilers of today's elaborate and well-padded textbooks, but they leave out nothing that is essential to a knowledge of the fundamentals of their respective subjects. Although modeled after the texts then in use, they show McJilton's dissatisfaction with the prevalent system of teaching, and the thoroughness with which he wished his teachers to drill their pupils. There is endless repetition, and each lesson is followed by specimen exercises, with the suggestion that the teacher supply additional ones as required to establish the principles firmly in the pupil's mind.

From a study of these texts alone, it might be inferred that too great a reliance was placed upon the memory in the schools supervised by McJilton, but such was not the case. He seldom missed an opportunity, either in his addresses before educational groups or in his reports to the Board of School Commissioners, to disparage the rote system of learning, and to extol the process by which the student learns by reasoning. In one of his annual reports he wrote:

To cram the memory with facts without communicating or developing the power of using them is not to educate the pupil. The evidence of the pupil's attainment is in the power of using his knowledge. . . . Let the pupil be taught to express his thoughts, to communicate what he knows, and it will increase his desire to think, and to know more; and the more he ex-

⁴⁶ *Opening Address*, delivered before the Maryland Association for the Encouragement of Literature and the Arts, p. 19.

⁴⁷ See above, p. 13.

periences the improvement of his powers, the more will he increase his capabilities, and give evidence that he has not studied in vain. . . . By such process as is here commended, the memory itself must be encouraged in connection with the other faculties of the mind, which ought to be employed in common with the memory, in the apprehension, understanding and use of all the subjects of study.⁴⁸

In the same report, McJilton related how he, on his visits to the schools, had frequently examined the pupils to determine the efficiency of the system of instruction. He found that the pupils could recite perfectly the rules for which he asked, but upon further questioning he learned that the rules and definitions conveyed no more meaning to them than would so much Greek. It was against this type of teaching that he inveighed furiously upon every opportunity. In his opening address before the Maryland Association for the Encouragement of Literature and the Arts, in 1848, he criticized the educational system then in favor, saying:

The process of the schools is for the master to instruct from books, and this duty may appear to be faithfully enough performed, but the mind of the student is crammed rather than expanded; it is burthened with a weight under which it is crippled, rather than taught to soar. The student should not only be taught to use his books, but should be taught also to use the information he obtains from them. He should be instructed in the employment of his own powers. He should be drilled in the use of the knowledge he acquires; and the drilling process should be performed while he is acquiring it. The substance of every lesson he studies should be made a part of his own mind, and the proof that it is so, should be required by the actual practice. What he learns should be drawn from him in such a manner as to make it his own communication.⁴⁹

The years which McJilton spent in charge of Male School No. 1 acquainted him with the teachers' problems, and he was always their champion against attacks from within and without

⁴⁸ Report of the Board of School Commissioners for 1866, p. 108.

⁴⁹ *Opening Address*, delivered before the Maryland Association for the Encouragement of Literature and the Arts, p. 18.

the school system. When he was a member of the Board, in 1847, there was proposed a reduction in the salaries of the teachers. McJilton opposed the measure with all his energy, and in a long speech before the board pictured the evils that must result from such an action. Teachers would be dissatisfied, he said, and hence, uninspired. Capable men and women would be able to command better salaries in other fields, and would forsake teaching. There would be a continual shifting among personnel, a condition inimical to the welfare of the pupils. To reduce the already inadequate salaries, he maintained, would reduce the teaching profession to the level attributed to it by its enemies: the last resort of those who had failed at everything else. The following is a part of his plea:

It is said that we can get male teachers for five hundred dollars, and three hundred dollars, to supply the places of those for which we are now paying eight hundred and fifty and six hundred dollars. And it is said that we can get female teachers for two hundred dollars, and one hundred fifty dollars, to supply the places occupied by those to whom we pay four hundred and fifty, and two hundred and fifty. Sir, I do not doubt at all but that this may be the case. And I will say further, sir, that I do not doubt but that we can get teachers in both the departments for any prices we may be pleased to offer. But I would ask what kind of teachers will they be? Will they be persons of education, and ability, and character? No, sir, such they cannot be. It is impossible. They will be anything else. If persons are capable of discharging the high and important obligations of the school-room, they will be able to command prices much nearer the equivalent of their services. Competent and faithful teachers cannot be obtained for anything like the sums named. I have said the labor will be according to the pay, and I may add, so will the laborer. The principle comes from high authority that "the laborer is worthy of his hire," and whatever contravenes that principle must be injustice and oppression.⁵⁰

It is characteristic of McJilton's thoroughness that in prepa-

⁵⁰ *Speech against the Reduction of the Salaries of the Teachers in the Public Schools*, p. 22.

ration for this defense he made extensive research into the school systems of other cities and states, particularly that in Boston, which was outlined for him in detail in a letter from Horace Mann.⁵¹

He concluded by submitting a plan whereby expenses might be reduced without injury to the teachers, through systematized and centralized buying of supplies, establishment of a more graded system of schools, with correspondingly graded requirements for teachers (both of which recommendations were later adopted), and an increase in the tuition, which was then one dollar per head per quarter for all pupils.

The salaries were not reduced.

In a history of Central High School, now Baltimore City College, he indulged in one of his bursts of rhetoric, and paid tribute to the teaching profession in his second-best pulpit style:

Beyond this vale of tears there is a purer society than here. The limits of time are not our limits. When these times shall be ended; when this generation shall have passed away; yes, when time shall be no longer; when the name by which we now designate man shall be forgotten; shall I see the work which has been commenced here, continuing to prosper! Is not the material with which I work immaterial, immortal, invisible, eternal? as a teacher I would then cast my eyes all along the avenues of society; here and there I see a temple of knowledge, which has been erected as a monument to what common schools have done for our race. How noble then is our calling, how honorable, how lofty! The faithful teacher, why ought not he to hold, in the sight of the community, the highest position in point of respectability? Yet among us he is a proverb and a byword to the *respectable* classes of people.⁵²

Education in its more general aspects also claimed his consideration. He read widely in educational literature, and followed with interest the progress of the various state systems which were established long before that of Maryland. This tardiness on the part of his native state was a constant source

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Appendix A.

⁵² *Historical Sketch of the Central High School of Baltimore*, p. 46.

of shame to him, for which he apologized when abroad and which he strove to mend when at home. The final establishment of a state school system in Maryland, in 1865, was due in no small degree to his efforts. There had been for years a state appropriation for an "academical fund" (There is a strikingly modern note in McJilton's lament that the counties each received \$800.00 annually from this fund, while Baltimore, paying one-third of the taxes of the state, received nothing), but this money could be spent by the counties as they saw fit, and there was no state organization until 1865.

McJilton also critically examined the various foreign systems of education, and particularly admired that employed in Prussia. In 1837, in an editorial in the *Monument*, he wrote:

Reports which have been circulated, exhibiting the system of education practised upon in the Prussian government, which is without doubt the best in the world, have done much toward the advancement of the cause in this country, and the day may be not far distant when the opportunity of obtaining a liberal education will be afforded every child in the land.⁵³

On various other occasions he cited the Prussian system of teacher training in normal schools, recommending its adoption in Maryland.

In thus pushing aside for a moment the curtains of oblivion which have, in the lapse of more than half a century, obscured the figure of John McJilton, we see that he was the man of his time: nationalist, optimist, apostle of *Democracy*, champion of the great middle class. We should seek far to find a better composite picture of "man thinking" in America between 1830 and 1870. As a writer, he was not quite good enough to reach posterity, even in the textbooks and literary histories. His failure to do so was no doubt due in part to lack of talent, for his works do not bear the mark of genius, but it was also due to indifference. He was, I believe, sincere when he wrote the preface to his published poems. He wrote for pleasure, not

⁵³ *The Monument*, January 28, 1837, Volume I, p. 135.

for laurels. He was content, in his magazines, to provide, for those who might have talent, an opportunity to reach an audience, and to stimulate culture in his city and state. That much of the writing appearing in their pages was superior to his own caused him no rancor. It was enough for him to be able to present it to the public, and, in his editorials, to further the causes of nationalism and education.

The success that attended McJilton's efforts in the pulpit, however, and a study of those of his sermons which have been preserved, indicate that in that calling he was far from being the amateur that he appears in literature. His rapid promotion in the Maryland Diocese, his frequent calls to preach sermons for special occasions long after his retirement from active church work in Baltimore, his call to a New York charge immediately after his arrival there—all these circumstances are measures of his ability and popularity as a preacher. The sermons he delivered are the products of a mind singularly even and tolerant in a day of great sectional and partizan jealousy. Although he followed with keen interest the trends of worldly affairs, he never allowed himself to be carried away by the fervor of his opinions upon them, into petty rabble-rousing and recrimination. While he felt that from the pulpit he could exert an influence for the betterment of his city and nation, he remained an able minister of the gospel; when he felt that in the field of public education he could exert a greater influence, he devoted all his powers to that cause.

In his deep concern for the future of the American people, he put aside any inclination he may have had to divide his attention among three congenial spheres of activity, and singled out public education as the instrument which he could employ to the greatest advantage in laying the foundations for future national success. In a democracy, to the principles of which he clung tenaciously, the responsibility for the government rests upon the common people, the great middle class, and he saw clearly that in his day the greatest handicap under which these people labored in governing themselves was unenlightenment.

It was to this end, then, that these people might, through the public schools, receive that enlightenment which would enable them to govern themselves wisely and independently, that he expended his greatest efforts in that direction. The citizens of Baltimore and Maryland do not today realize their indebtedness to John McJilton for many of the educational advantages which they now enjoy. Almost single-handed he strove to build up an educational system comparable to those in other localities, and in Baltimore City he succeeded so well that at the time of his death, her system was inferior to none.

McJilton was a man with a purpose, and that purpose was not to attain literary perfection, or to win, through his eloquent sermons, the adulation of his fellow Baltimoreans; it was to improve the lot of his fellow man, and in his educational work, at least, if not in his ecclesiastical and literary endeavors, he achieved it.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

- 1806. February 9. John Nelson McJilton was born in Baltimore, Maryland.
- 1834. Started the *Baltimore Athenaeum and Young Men's Paper* with Wm. T. Leonard and J. L. Cary.
- 1835. Married Miss Sarah Ann Davie, of Baltimore. Was elected teacher of Male School No. 1.
- 1836. January 23. Left the *Athenaeum*.
October 8. Started the *Baltimore Literary Monument* with David Creamer.
- 1838. Changed the *Monument* to a monthly.
- 1839. Resigned as teacher.
- 1840. Was ordained a deacon.
Published his *Poems*.
- 1841. Was ordained a priest.
Was made assistant rector of Christ Church.
Was made rector of St. James.
Resigned at Christ Church.
- 1844. Was made rector at St. Stephen's.
- 1845. Was elected a member of the Board of School Commissioners of Baltimore City.
Was made a Mason.
- 1847. Was appointed Chaplain of the Maryland Hospital for the Insane.

- Resigned from the Board of School Commissioners.
Published *Lizzy Larkin*.
1848. Resigned at St. James.
1849. Was elected Treasurer to the Board of School Commissioners.
Bought a part interest in the *Patriot*.
1852. Published *High School Literature*, with John Monmonier.
Published Lofland's Poems.
1853. Resigned from St. Stephen's.
1854. Bought the *Patriot* outright.
1856. Sold the *Patriot*.
Published *Hester Harris* and the *Maryland Primary Arithmetic*.
1857. Published the *Maryland Primary Grammar*.
1866. Was appointed Superintendent of Public Instruction in Baltimore.
1868. Was removed from the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction.
Moved to New York City.
- 1875, April 13. Died in New York City.

THE SIZES OF PLANTATIONS IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MARYLAND.

By V. J. WYCKOFF.

St. John's College, Annapolis, Md.

Until one has examined the land records of the colonial period of Maryland there is apt to be some misconception of the sizes of the individual holdings. Manors of thousands of acres fit into the mental picture of a virgin continent more readily than the division of Lord Baltimore's palatinate into thousands of farms of several hundred acres. In one of the standard references on Maryland there is printed a list of many of the lords of the manor with their original surveys and also abstracts of one thousand early land surveys.¹ Of equal sig-

¹ Hester Dorsey Richardson, *Side-lights on Maryland History*, pp. 263-267, 287-355, Baltimore, 1913. For Virginia, see Nell M. Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers, Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, 1623-1800*, Richmond, 1934.

nificance is information about the number of acres found in tracts of Maryland land bought and sold by private persons. The presentation of facts about such conveyed lands in Maryland during the seventeenth century is the purpose of this article.²

Although the General Assembly of Maryland as early as 1639 provided by law that the register of every court should record all conveyances, titles and grants of land, the use of that service was left to the desires of the parties involved until 1663 when by another act recording became a necessity.³ But there is every reason to believe that full compliance was not experienced in the colony for many years. In fact the relative scarcity of recorded conveyances from 1663 to the end of that decade stands witness.

Because this study of the sizes of lands sold has been joined with one of land prices, certain requirements of the second have limited the selection of material for the first. Necessarily land sales in which a nominal consideration was given rather than the real price could not be used. Such was the case for probably one-half of the recorded conveyances until toward the close of the century. Another restriction partly imposed by the quantity of the deeds was a limit on the statistical sampling to ten tracts of land each year for each county during the period from 1663 to 1700. In many cases the number of available deeds fell short of that maximum. An occasional test was made of the sampling by the use of all items; there was no appreciable difference. And finally, although there were nine Maryland counties with records that antedated 1700, the material for two of those counties was found inadequate.⁴

² The field work necessary for the gathering of this material was made possible to a large extent by a grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council in 1937. This study is to be a part of an economic history of Maryland during the seventeenth century.

³ *Maryland Archives*, I, 61-62, 159-160, 194, 487-488.

⁴ These are the county records that have been used: Anne Arundel County (created in 1650) *Land Records*, IH No. 1 1666-1705, JH No. 2, IH No. 3 1665, IT No. 5 1675-1752, WT No. 1 1699-1702, WH No. 4 1709; Baltimore County (created in 1659) *Land Records*, RM No. HS 1659 to 1725, IR No.

The organization of the data about land sizes has been handled in the following manner. For each of the seven counties the appropriate records were examined page by page, and for each year from 1663 to 1700 the deeds were listed in the order in which they came up to a maximum number of ten for each year.⁵ For each deed the following facts were noted: the year of the conveyance (changed to new style), the acreage, the condition of the property (improved or not), the location of the buyer and seller, and finally the price, which was usually stated in pounds of Maryland tobacco. Then for the classification of the land tracts by acres a class interval of 100 acres was used except for the first class which was for farms with less than 50 acres, and the last class which included all properties containing 1,050 acres and more. And because even hundreds of acres appeared more frequently than other sizes, the hundreds were made the central numbers in each class. The classes were, thus, 1-49 acres, 50-149 acres, etc., up to 1,050 acres.

For a maximum sample of ten plantations a year a frequency distribution year by year offered little value; therefore the decade was taken as the more convenient and usual time period

PP 1663 to 1705, IS No. IK 1665 to 1737, TR No. RA 1672-1718, IR No. AM 1681 to 1706; Charles County (created in 1658) *Court Records*, B No. 1 1662 to 1665, and the following sequence in chronological order: C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, P, Q, R, S up to the year 1697; Dorchester County (created in 1668) *Land Records*, No. 1 Old 1669-1683, No. 3 Old 1671-80, No. 4 Old 1679-89, No. 4½ Old 1689-92, No. 5 Old 1692-1701; Kent County (created in 1642) *Land Records*, A 1654 to 1656, B 1656 to 1662, C, O Liber K 1681 to 1685, OO Liber M 1694 to 1701, *Court Proceedings*, I 1676 to 1695; Somerset County (created in 1665) *Deeds*, B-1 0-1, B-½ 0-2, SC 0-3, M-4 0-4, WW 0-5, MA 0-6, L No. 1, L No. 2, *Judicial Records*, 1670-71, 1689-90, 1690-92; Talbot County (created in 1662) *Land Records*, No. 1, GG No. 3, HH No. 4, KK No. 5, NN No. 6, LL No. 7, AB No. 8. Cecil County (1674) and Prince George's County (1695) were not used. The location of the above records was greatly facilitated by the lists compiled by Louis D. Scisco and printed in various numbers of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXI, 261-273, 356-361; XXII, 62-67, 186-189, 245-259, 349-356; XXIII, 243-246.

⁵ There is a total of 1683 conveyances in this study, 110 for the seventh decade, 509 for the eighth, 533 for the ninth and 531 for the last ten years of the seventeenth century.

to reflect a trend, if any, in the sizes of land tracts bought and sold. Thus, for each of the seven counties there was constructed a four-decade frequency table of land sizes distributed in classes, each of which contained a hundred acres, except the first and last classes. Then arose another problem. As has been stated, full samples could not be obtained for every year, so a comparison of absolute figures could not be used.* So instead, for each county the number of pieces of land in each class size for the seventh decade was expressed as a percentage of all tracts recorded for the same decade. The same was done for each of the three subsequent ten-year periods.

The results for each county were so similar that a consolidation of the percentages for all seven counties seemed the most fruitful method of displaying the tendencies. In Table I there is presented for the seven counties as a group and on a decade basis the percentage that the number of tracts of land in each class interval bore to the total number of farms for

TABLE I.

PERCENTAGE OF THE PLANTATIONS IN EACH CLASS TO THE DECADE TOTAL.

Acres	1660-1669	1670-1679	1680-1689	1690-1699
1-49	00%	00%	02%	02%
50-149	27	40	37	45
150-249	27	29	32	30
250-349	18	17	12	11
350-449	11	05	05	05
450-549	06	04	04	04
550-649	..	02	02	01
650-749	02	..	02	x
750-849	02	01	01	..
850-949	01	..	..	..
950-1049	03	01	02	x
over-1049	03	01	01	01
Total	100	100	100	100

x, less than 1%.

* For instance from 1663 to 1670 there is a range from 4 items for Dorchester County to 47 for Charles. There are no records for Kent County in 1688 and 1689, Charles County 1697 to 1700.

that ten-year period. Several comments about the percentages may be made. First, in each decade the majority of the properties contained from 50 to 250 acres, and during the last three decades the class of 50-149 acres contained a larger percentage of lands than any other class. The second observation concerns the trend of land sizes. During these four decades there was a broken upward trend in percentages for the three classes of 1-49 acres, 50-149 acres and 150-249 acres; and if the first class be ignored because of the small absolute number of farms (26 out of a total of 1683) that trend was more pronounced. Thus the number of farms with 50-249 acres became proportionately a larger part of the total—54% in the seventh decade, 69% in the eighth and ninth, and 75% in the last period.

At times it is convenient to treat the whole thirty-seven years as a unit. The necessary data are given in Table II together with groupings which indicate the importance of tracts of land of various sizes. Parenthetically another refinement might be

TABLE II

NUMBER OF PLANTATIONS IN EACH CLASS AND PERCENTAGES OF TOTALS.

Acres	Number of Plantations				Class Totals	% of Grand Total	% Groups	
	1660-1669	1670-1679	1680-1689	1690-1699				
1-49	..	1	13	12	26	02	42	72
50-149	30	205	200	237	672	40		
150-249	30	147	170	153	500	30		
250-349	20	87	64	61	232	14	44	19
350-449	12	23	28	26	89	5	9	
450-549	7	22	23	20	72	4	3	
550-649	..	9	8	8	25	2	x	6
650-749	2	2	11	4	19	1		
750-849	2	3	3	..	8	x		
850-949	1	..	..	..	1	x	2	1
950-1049	3	4	8	4	19	1		
over-1049	3	6	5	6	20	1		
Total	110	509	533	531	1683	100%		

x, less than 1%.

mentioned. The second class interval of 49-149 acres included the even units of 50 and 100 acres that were granted as head-

rights under various "Conditions of Plantations" by the proprietor. It seemed desirable to determine their importance in subsequent land sales. Out of the total of 1,683 plantations used in this study 274 tracts of land or 16% were of 100 acres or less and 153 tracts or 9% contained an even 50 acres. It would seem that such small units of land were consolidated with other pieces to raise the total to more than 100 acres, because there is no reason to believe that such minor holdings were any more exempt from sale (and therefore would not come within this study) than larger farms.

It is desirable at this point to make sure that the information so far presented has not been misinterpreted. The figures in this article indicate that with the passing of years from 1663 to 1700 the sizes of a large proportion of the plantations bought and sold decreased, until in the last decade about 72% of the conveyances involved farms of less than 250 acres. From these data one cannot draw a conclusion about the concentration of land holdings by individuals. This would require an ownership analysis of each deed. However, based upon my present knowledge of land records I believe that during those thirty-seven years there was a tendency to break up properties of more than 450 acres and to consolidate pieces of land under 50 acres.

This tentative judgment receives some confirmation from the brief analysis of lands of 100 acres and less that has just been presented. Also it is of interest to compare the frequency distribution by size of lands sold by private persons with the acreage of the original land warrants. Those familiar with Maryland history will recall that under successive "Conditions of Plantation" issued by the Lords Baltimore land could at first be secured only by grants from the proprietor, and for most of the land owners those grants were based on the importation of settlers. The number of acres in the grant varied according to the number of people brought into the colony. As might be expected the first adventurers received the most favorable terms: 2,000 acres for every 5 men who were between the ages of 16

and 50 years, and if less than 5 men then 100 acres per head. Subsequent proclamations varied the number of acres in the grants both for the manors (a minimum of 1,000 acres) and the smaller headrights which were lowered to 50 acres a person in 1641 then raised to 100 again in 1649.⁷ By 1683 the speculative abuses in gaining and selling such headrights led Lord Baltimore to abolish that system and institute the outright sale of land at the rate of 100 pounds of tobacco for 50 acres. An exception was made to encourage the development of the area near to the Pennsylvania line; for that section the rate was about 1 pound of tobacco per acre. In 1684 the price was raised to 120 pounds of tobacco for 50 acres with a downward scale of prices for larger purchases.⁸

How did these original tracts of land compare in size with the plantations sold between private persons? A limited sampling of the original land warrants was made by which 910 pieces of property were secured from the appropriate rent rolls.⁹ In Table III there is offered for the same period of 1663-1699 a comparison of the distribution of plantations when gained by grant (or purchase from the proprietor) and when bought from private persons. Although the same distribution classes dominated in both groups, it seemed first, that when land was privately sold tracts under 50 acres were either not involved or more probably were consolidated into larger units. And second, that a greater percentage of the farms sold had less than 250 acres than in the case of the original warrant lands. Those tendencies suggest a breaking up of some of the larger estates. One reason might well have been the division of farms among children, of which the records gave numerous instances.

But there was another influence making for the subdivision

⁷ *Archives*, III, 47-48, 99-101, 221-228, 233-237.

⁸ *Ibid.*, V, 390-391, 394-395; John Kilty, *Land-Holder's Assistant*, pp. 125-126, Baltimore, 1808.

⁹ The following *Rent Rolls* in the Land Office at Annapolis were used: for Anne Arundel County, v. 1, no. 1; Baltimore County, v. 2, no. 2; Charles County, v. 1 & 2, nos. 1 & 2; Dorchester County, v. 2, no. 2; Kent County, v. 1, no. 1; Somerset County v. 1, no. 1; Talbot County, v. 1, no. 1.

TABLE III.
COMPARISON OF THE SIZES OF PLANTATIONS ACQUIRED BY SALE AND BY GRANT.

Acres	Percentage of Plantations in Each Class to the Decade Total						Percentage of Class Totals to Grand Totals	
	1660-1669	1670-1679	1680-1689	1690-1699	1690-1699	1690-1699	Sale	Grant
	Sale ¹	Grant ²	Sale	Grant	Sale	Grant		
1-49	00%	02%	00%	07%	02%	12%	02%	07%
50-149	27	27	40	40	37	40	45	41
150-249	27	23	29	22	32	26	30	25
250-349	18	23	17	15	12	10	11	8
350-449	11	10	5	5	5	4	5	8
450-549	6	4	4	6	4	5	4	2
550-649	..	5	2	x	2	1	1	2
650-749	2	2	..	x	2	2	1	1
750-849	2	2	1	x	1	x	..	..
850-949	1	x	..	x	..	..	..	..
950-1049	3	2	1	2	2	1	1	1
over-1049	3	1	1	1	1	x	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

¹ Plantations sold by private persons.

² Plantations originally granted or sold by the Lords Baltimore.
x, less than 1%.

of original grants. It was land speculation, which has been mentioned. In that connection it is well to bear in mind that the almost exclusive commercial product of the province during the colonial period was tobacco.¹⁰ Not only were the bay and lower river lands preferred for their fertility, but the hogsheads of tobacco could be most economically shipped when vessels could come directly to the plantation wharves. The conveniences of water locations were also apparent for human travel. Moreover, the further inland the new grants were made, the more virgin timber there was to clear and the greater the danger from the Indians. Thus it is logical to assume that as the population of the palatinate increased and indentured servants were freed¹¹ the bidding for those lands of the early adventurers and those land rights held by speculatively inclined ship masters would send prices for land higher and encourage the division of large holdings.¹² In such lands were, of course, those that had been retained by the proprietors.¹³

¹⁰ See, V. J. Wyckoff, *Tobacco Regulations in Colonial Maryland*, Baltimore, 1936.

¹¹ The original population of the colony was about 200 people. By 1660 there were nearly 8,000 inhabitants in all and this number had increased to approximately 25,000 in the year 1688; by 1701 the estimate was 34,000. Father White, "A Briefe Relation of the Voyage unto Maryland," Maryland Historical Society, *Fund Publications*, no. 35; *Archives*, XXV, 255, 259; Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in Southern United States to 1860*, p. 1025.

¹² In a study of the prices of these same plantations as a group, improved and unimproved tracts, there was an increase of 135% in the median prices from the seventh decade to the end of the century.

¹³ Unfortunately the absence of similar studies of the sizes of land tracts in other American colonies for the same period makes impossible a comparison of conclusions.

INCIDENTS OF THE WAR OF 1812.

FROM THE *Baltimore Patriot*.

[This statement by the only eye-witness present during the events which inspired the composition of The Star Spangled Banner, were not only printed in *The Patriot*, May 23, 1849, but were also reprinted in the columns of the *National Intelligencer*, June 4, 1849. It seems incredible that no commentator on this subject should have made use of this statement; diligent search in every probable place has failed to show any such use, the accepted and much quoted version being that of Judge Taney, printed in the volume of Key's poems in 1857. It has therefore, been here reprinted—EDITOR.]

MR. INGERSOLL'S HISTORY.—In the extract published in the *Baltimore Patriot* of the 23d ultimo from Mr. C. J. INGERSOLL'S *History of the War of 1812*, as well as in the general public impressions respecting the attack on Baltimore by the British, there are some errors, of more or less account, which singular opportunities of noting the occurrences of that day, in the region of the Chesapeake Bay, enable the writer of these lines to notice in a friendly spirit.

It was then the writer's office, under a joint appointment from the State Department and the Commissary General of Prisoners, to act as agent for flags of truce and for the exchange of prisoners, and in that capacity to serve as the medium of intercourse between the Government and the enemy's forces in the Chesapeake Bay, from the commencement to the end of the war, when he was finally commissioned, jointly with Judge BAYLY (father of the present honorable member from Accomac) and the late GEORGE GRAHAM, to communicate to the British officer in command of the forces on this station the conclusion of the treaty of peace, and to reclaim from him the slaves, territorial and other property in their possession, according to the treaty stipulations.

Some time previous to the arrival of the British fleet, with its transports, at Bermuda, destined then not for the Chesapeake bay at all, but for New Orleans, the undersigned was

ordered down on business with the commanding officer, and first boarded a frigate off the mouth of the Patuxent, commanded by Captain Clavell, who, on inquiry for Admiral Cockburn, replied that he had "gone to sea," leaving him in command during his absence, and to him accordingly the despatches were handed. But, before as much time had elapsed as has done in writing thus far, an officer came to the door and desired to speak with him. Returning, and with a smile at the *ruse de guerre* he was playing, he now said, "I am ordered, sir, by signal from Sir George (who was lying ten miles below) to invite you to proceed to his ship, and he begs you will do him the favor to dine with him." The Admiral was then, as it afterwards appeared, on his way to Bermuda, to meet the fleet which he was aware was to rendezvous at that island, with a view to persuade Sir Alexander Cochrane that it was too early in the season to go to New Orleans, and that the mean time might be more safely and better employed by a visit, in the way of diversion, to the Chesapeake bay, and thus enable him to destroy Barney's flotilla, which, much to his mortification, had so far eluded his grasp.

Such is the true origin of the appearance of that British expedition in the Chesapeake bay, and of the final movement upon and conflagration of the Capitol; for, even when they ascended the Patuxent river, in pursuit of the Flotilla, which had retired, as it was supposed, to an inaccessible point above Nottingham, the expedition to Washington was not a part of their fixed design: nor was it decided on at last, as General Ross himself told the writer of this, until after the flotilla was blown up. Then, as he said, Admiral COCKBURN urged him, he (Ross) having exclusive command of the land forces, to go ahead. "Let us," said he, "now push on, so far as to feel their strength, at any rate, and, if circumstances require it, we can fall back to our shipping." "Thus," said Gen. Ross, "we moved on until we came in sight of your army at Bladensburg. The men became excited; we made the attack, received while it lasted a deadly fire, but your troops broke and let us on the

capital." And here it may be noted, that, as well on this occasion as after the battle of North Point, the British officers often remarked, that whenever they met the American militia, in whatever numbers, the fire they received from them was much more fatal than that encountered in any part of the world. No troops could face them long, said they, if you could only get them to stand! This deadly execution, doubtless, proceeds from the universal use of fire-arms in our country, in shooting crows and squirrels, deer and pigeons, woodpeckers and bullfrogs, and from the instinctive habit of taking aim whenever a trigger is pulled. It would be easy to relate numerous particulars incident to the movements against Alexandria and Washington which would not be without their moral and historical interest, but that we have already digressed from our original purpose, which was, not to give a narrative of what happened, but merely to note a few unintentional and, perhaps, unimportant misapprehensions of fact.

On this visit to the enemy upon business growing out of the capture of Washington, the undersigned was instructed to take along with him Mr. KEY, of Washington, his mission having exclusive reference to the release of Dr. BEANS, a venerable cavalier of Prince George's county, who, on the retreat from Washington, had been seized in his house and carried off in the night under circumstances of gross harshness and indignity. His friends were persuaded that something might be hoped from Mr. Key's tact and persuasive manners in getting the Doctor released; and, though that was effected, as will be seen, by a different influence, Mr. Key's visit ended happily in giving us one national song that will be as imperishable as the naval renown it will forever serve to celebrate and to cherish. Such was the origin of "The Star Spangled Banner."

On boarding the flag-ship at the mouth of the Potomac we were invited to remain, and were soon summoned to dinner; the writer being placed next to and on the right of Sir ALEXANDER COCHRANE, the Commander-in-chief, and Mr. KEY on the right of Admiral CODRINGTON, Admiral of the Fleet, and

since the celebrated "*Hero of Navarino*." This latter, after the wine had been in free circulation, allowed himself to remark, with somewhat unbecoming freedom, on the character of Commodore PORTER, particularly designating his having ordered a British sailor to be tied and flogged at the gangway of his ship (for insolence) in the Mediterranean. (By-the-by, there is no denying there was between our gallant Porter and the British naval officers "no love lost.")

The dinner was nearly over before the writer of these lines discovered, from something which was said incidentally, that the plainly dressed officer next on his right, the most reserved gentleman at the table, was no other than Gen. Ross, the "*Hero of Bladensburg*." Turning, then, slightly, to regard more particularly one whose name was associated with recent and mortifying occurrences of Vandal notoriety, there was yet visible on the left side of his neck a yet uncicatrized wound, received in the celebrated and bloody battle of Toulouse, where Marshal Soult so skilfully defended himself against a vastly superior force, led on by the "Iron Duke."

Seizing adroitly the first pause which ensued some warmth of reply to the assault, out of place and so mal-appropriately made on the character of PORTER, whom the writer was proud to regard as a particular and assured friend, Gen. Ross politely invited the writer of these lines to retire with him to the Admiral's cabin, and there first broached the business on which the visit was made, as far as Mr. KEY was concerned, he yet remaining with all the residue of the party at the dinner table. "Mr. S." said Gen. Ross, "It gives me great pleasure to 'acknowledge the kindness with which our officers left at 'Bladensburg have been treated. All that has been said on 'that point by the Commissary General of Prisoners, (the late 'talented Gen. John Mason) in his letter to me, has been more 'than confirmed by their own letters; and I wish you, therefore, 'to say to him and to the friends of Doctor Beans that, on 'that account, and not from any opinion of his own merit, he 'shall be released, to return with you." Thus, whatever degree

of obduracy might have been softened by the eloquence of such a pleader as Mr. KEY, it was not put to the test in this instance.

And now for your extract from Ingersoll's History. It says:

"General Ross, accompanied by Admiral Cochrane in the van, proceeded, without resistance, about four miles," &c.

Admiral COCHRANE did not land at all. He shifted his flag to the light frigate *Surprise*, commanded by his son Sir Thomas Cochrane, and proceeded to the river to direct in person the attack on Fort McHenry, while Admiral Cockburn landed, and proceeded with General Ross.

"The wound (of General Ross) was mortal. He fell into the arms of his aid-de-camp, and lived only long enough to name his wife and to commend his family to the protection of his country."

Admiral COCKBURN gave this account of his death to the writer of this. He said: "A soldier came running to me and asked if I knew the General had been shot? No, said I, it is impossible; I parted with him this moment." Admiral C. added: "My impression is, that if he could have been borne easily on a good litter to the boat, instead of being jolted down to it in a cart, he might possibly have been saved." "Although," he remarked, "I would not like his friends to know that such is my impression, as it would now avail to no good purpose." He further said: "He handed me a locket from his bosom, saying, give that to my dear wife, and tell her I commend her to my king and my country."

Now as to the plan and particulars of the attack. The arrangement between the Admiral and General in command was this: With an uncommonly favorable coincidence of fair wind with a high tide, which then existed, and such as rarely occurs, the Admiral expected to silence the fort, pass up some light frigates, and then, turning his guns upon the entrenchments, drive away its defences (sic) on Loudenslager's hill, and so let the army in, or up to a position from which the town might be laid under contribution or burnt. The first thing Admiral COCKBURN said to the undersigned the next morning after the

retreat, when he waited on Admiral COCHRANE for his answer to the despatches, was—even before the usual salutations, and having in view his previously expressed exulting anticipation—“Ah, Mr. S., if it had not been for the sinking of those ships ‘across the channel, with the wind and tide we had in our ‘favor, we should have taken the town; as it was, we flurried ‘you, any how.” “A miss, Sir George, is as good as a mile.” And here it is due to that meritorious patriot, Commodore RODGERS, and to the truth of history, to state that this saving measure of sinking the ships was suggested and executed under his orders after the British hove in sight.

Then, as to the general plan and circumstances of the attack. After General Ross was killed, and Admiral COCKBURN, then proceeding with Col. BROOKE, had gotten sight or report of the entrenchments, he wrote a note to Admiral COCHRANE, saying that, if he would go on, in pursuance with their concerted plan, with a feint attack at midnight in the rear of the fort to draw off our forces from the main point of attack and defence on Loudenslager’s hill, he, Cockburn, and Brooke, with the land and naval forces acting under his command, would undertake to capture our entrenchments “with a loss not exceeding five hundred men.” To this note the Admiral, as he told the writer of this, answered, that, as he did not command the land forces, it was not for him to say, but that his advice was that they should return to the shipping in view of our preparations and means of defence, “lest they should endanger ulterior objects;” using the very words which afterwards appeared in his despatches home. Of course he did not mention what these ulterior objects were, but it proved to be New Orleans, the “great ulterior purpose of the expedition,” and from which they had been diverted at the urgent instance of Admiral Cockburn, with whom it had become a matter of pride to demolish Barney’s flotilla. But as, after he received the note from Cockburn, there was not sufficient time remaining for him to learn whether his advice would be followed, he was obliged to proceed with his part of the plan agreed upon, to

wit, to make the demonstration up Ferry branch; and hence were seen those portentous and well-remembered signal rockets, arranged to be thrown off at the time designated for the joint attack. If the original plan of attack had been carried out, it was then, at midnight, that the onset would have been made upon the entrenchments, when if made by a direct movement in front there is little doubt they would have met with a foretaste of what they afterwards encountered at New Orleans. Better for us, however; the advice of Admiral Cochrane was followed, and the attack relinquished. It was on the receipt of this missal from the naval commander that Col. Brooke, succeeding to the command of the army, considered it an indication that he had not succeeded also to the confidence enjoyed by his "illustrious predecessor," is said to have been so chagrined as to shed tears of mortification.

There was not on the part of the enemy any expectation of carrying the city, or of doing more than to create a diversion, by the night attack up the Ferry branch; and it is confidently believed that the loss incurred in making it has always been greatly overrated; yet that all the firmness of heart and gallantry claimed for the defenders at that point was justly due to them there can be no question.

"It was," says your extract, "during the striking concussions of that night that the song of *The Star Spangled Banner* was composed in the Admiral's ship."

Now, as it is not unworthy of that noble inspiration that its circumstances should be more exactly known. The author of the *Star Spangled Banner* was never on board the Admiral's ship after we were in sight of Baltimore. We had been invited during our detention to take up our quarters with the Admiral's son, Sir THOMAS COCHRANE, on board the *Surprise* frigate, the Admiral expressing regret that his own, the flag ship, was so crowded with officers that he could not accommodate us as he wished; but promised that his son (which he well redeemed) would make us comfortable until after the denouement of the expedition then going forward.

Dining every day with the Admiral and a large party of army and navy officers, his objects and plans were freely spoken of, and thus, when we arrived in sight of the city, the undersigned again demanded an answer to his despatches, to which Sir Alexander answered smilingly, "Ah, Mr. S., after discussing so freely as we have done in your presence our purposes and plans, you could hardly expect us to let you go on shore now in advance of us. Your despatches are all ready. You will have to remain with us until all is over, when I promise you there shall be no further delay." Seeing no help for it, I demanded that we should then be returned to our own vessel—one of Ferguson's Norfolk packets, under our own "Star-Spangled Banner," during the attack. It was from *her* deck, in view of Fort McHenry, that we witnessed through an anxious day and night,

"The rocket's red glare, the bombs bursting in air; "

and the song, which was written the night after we got back to Baltimore, in the hotel then kept at the corner of Hanover and Market streets, was but a versified and almost literal transcript of our expressed hopes and apprehensions, through that ever memorable period of anxiety to all, but never of despair. Calling on its accomplished author the next morning, he handed it to the undersigned, who passed it to the *Baltimore Patriot*, and through it to immortality.

Your obedient servant, J. S. S.

[J. S. SKINNER, Agent for Prisoners.]

LETTERS OF CHARLES CARROLL, BARRISTER.

(Continued from *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XXXII, 2, page 190.)

5	six penny Ditto	
5	four Penny Ditto	
10m	two penny Nails	
2	S bitted large stock Locks	@ 5/ each
2	d° smaller d°	
2	Dozen Reap hooks	
3	Dozen Smiths files	} sorted
1	Ditto Augers	
1	d° Chisels	
1	d° X Cut saw files	
1	d° Whip saw Ditto	
1	d° Gauges	
6	Steel plate hand saws, handled	
1	faggot English Steel	
1	Cwt blistered D°	
2	Dozen frying Panns sorted	
6	Grass scythes	2/
6	Ditto	3/6
2	Gross Gimlets sorted	
1	Cwt of high bristol Shott	
1½	low Goose d°	
1	barr Lead	
3	bull hides Clear of holes and Cutts to be oiled but not Curryed	
1	Dozen Pewter Basons	} sorted
1	d° Tin Funels	
10m	pins	
4	Dozen Collar makers aul blads	
4	Gross Shoemakers d°	
2	d° d° Hafts	
6	Dozen Taylors thimbles	

- 2 d° Pocket Knives and forks sheathed
- 1 d° Razors, 6 horse fleams
- 1 Doz. sail Needles & 1 Dozen Palms
- 1 d° perch hooks & 1 Dozen perch Lines
- 6 Doz. of Kirbys fish hooks & 1/2 D° lines for them
- 1 Dozen Temple frame Spectacles and Cases
- 4 Gross metal Coat buttons
- 6 Ditto vest Ditto
- 2 Doz. small teeth ivory Combs
- 1 d° Great Ditto horn Ditto
- 6 Dozen Cotton Taws
- 1 d° silk Ditto
- 6 pieces of worsted ferreting
- 4 d° silk Ditto
- 6 d° narrow white Tape
- 12 lb osnabrighs thread
- 6 Coloured d° & 6 lb d° finer
- 6 lb Whited brown thread
- 1/2 lb of nuns thread sorted
- 1/2 sewing silk
- 100 lb of Bohea Tea
- 20 of pepper
- 4 of fig Blue
- 6 Loaves of single refined sugar
- 1 Dozen of White stone quart Muggs
- 2 d° pint Ditto
- 2 d° wide mouth stone Jugs
- 2 d° painted punch bowls
- 2 Doz. mens felt hatts
- 2 d° Boys Ditto
- 1 d° Mens Caster Ditto
- 6 Scrubing Brushes
- 6 Hair Brooms
- 1 Dozen lawn sieves
- 3 d° hair large Ditto
- 3 Ditto Bed Cords

12 lb of Candle wick

- 1 Ledger { containing
1 Journal { of the best paper }

inches inches

9 } Quire { 18 } 11½ }
6 } { 15½ } long & 10¼ } wide

and ruled for double Entries and the Edge of the
Covers be Plated with brass.

- 1 Alphabet for the Ledger
2 Reams of large writing paper uncut
6 Bibles in twelve
½ lb Wafers
6 Calf leather pocket books with proper divisions
1 brass Diagonal seale 12 Inches long with sundry
other seales and lines of Chords thereon.
1 brass prowactor 4 Inches diameter
Dividers and other protracting Instruments in a Case }
but no sector.

The undermentioned Goods to be put up sepearte and sepe-
rate bills of Parcel marked as ¶ margin.

- | | | |
|-------------------|---|---------------------|
| 2 | pieces strong brown osnabrigs | @ 7 ^d 1½ |
| 2 | d ^o brown Roles | |
| 1 | d ^o yard wide Chex | @ ½ |
| 1 | d ^o Irish Linnen | ¼ |
| 3 y ^{ds} | Shenting | |
| 20m | ten penny nails | |
| 1 | steel plate hand saw handled | |
| 1 | mans Caster hatt & 6 mens felts Ditto | |
| 6 | Boys felt hats | |
| 8 | yards of Garman serge shalloon and other trimings
thereto. | |
-

Sir

I have wrote to Mr Bacon for some Goods for the Baltimore Company for my Proportion and have shipped him some Iron by Captain Thomson to Pay for the same but as the Invoice was Larger than I Expected it will not Clear the amount.

I Desire you would Enquire of him whether he Inclines to send all the goods ordered if not Please to Ship me what he Does not send of them and Insured as I have Directed him and I will next year make you Remittance to Pay for them.

I am Sir your most humble serv^t

C. C.

Annapolis September 8th 1758 }
 To Mr William Anderson Merch^t }
 in London }
 ☞ Captain Creamore
 ☞ Captain Miller

Sir

Please to add to the Goods I before wrote for if this arrives in time If not send me by the first opportunity Ten pair of H Hinges suitable for Chamber Doors one Eight Inch Brass Lock and Furniture three pair of Brass H Hinges for Parlour Doors

I am Sir your most Humble serv^t

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland November
 15th 1758
 To Mr William Anderson Merch^t }
 in London }

Sir

I Have of this Date Drawn on you a set of Bills of Exchange Payable to Benjamin Tasker Esq^r or order at thirty Days

sight for seven Pounds Eight shillings sterling which Please
to Pay and Place to the account of

Sir your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis February 2^d 1759

To M^r William Anderson merch^t }
in London }

Sir

Yours of the 13th of November last I Received with my account Current. I want sent me by the first opportunity to Annapolis the Contents of the Inclosed Invoice.

Please if it be Convenient to send them to me and you shall be Refunded by Pigg or Barr iron if Can Get ships to Take it in to you this years shipping or Bills if I Can Get them If not you will I believe be safe in what may be the advance and shall as soon as Possibly Effects Can be sent you be Repayed with anything you advance for me with Interest I suppose tho' they may be sent by a Runing ship the Insurance will not be very High as our men of war are so very Active.

I would have them Insured so that in Case of Loss may Draw the Cost and Charges Clear. I am with kind Compliments to all with you

Dear Sir your most Humble servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland May 23^d 1759

To M^r William Anderson merchant }
in London. }

Ⓢ William Steuart to New York }

Ⓢ sent to New York by the Post. }

By Dickerson Ship from Choptank to Whitehaven

Invoice of Sundry Goods sent Inclosed in a Letter to Mr William Anderson merchant in London Dated the 23^d of May 1757 Viz.

One set of Tea and Coffee Cups with Tea pot slop Basin &c }
I suppose about six Guineas }

Four Dozen Burnt China Plates }
Two Doz. Ditto s^l soop Ditto } same
one Doz. Dishes of Different sizes } sort
two Pickle Boats }

Half a Doz: China Blue and white Deep Dishes of Different sizes one Doz: Custard Cups

one Doz: Coarse Blue and white Patte Pans

Two Dozen best hard mettles Dining Plates

one Dozen soop Ditto Ditto

one Doz Ditto water Plates

half a Dozen Dishes Different sizes

one Tureen or Soop Dish

Two Dozen wine Glasses

Half a Doz. water Ditto

Four Quart Decanters and Four pint Ditto

one Black shagreen Case with a Dozen Table silver Handled

Knives and Forks and one Dozen spoons.

A set of silver Castors in a silver stand

one silver three pint Coffee pot

one Silver small salver and one of a Larger size

Two silver Butter Boats

Two pair of silver Common sized Candle sticks

one pair of neat steel snuffers

Two silver pint Canns and one Two Quart Tankard

Two pair of silver Fashionable salts

all of the neat Plain Fashion and the Inclosed Coat of Arms

or Crest as suitable to the Fashion Engraved thereon

one Copper Plate warmer.

Gentlemen.

On your letter to M^r Samuel Middleton I have sent you by your schooner six Tons of Barr Iron in four hundred and Ten barrs at Eighteen Pounds sterling ^{per} Tun our selling Price Here. As your Currency will not suit me I shall Expect Bills sent me for it by an opportunity that you Can Trust within a month from this time as I shall have an opportunity of Remitting them.

There is one M^r George Jamison a smith of your Town who often Comes this way if he should be Coming you may send them by him Inclosed In a letter to me

If you should want Iron at any time and let me have a Line of Notice about a month before you think of sending up for it I will have it Drawn out for you according to the Dementions you shall Direct and Ready for your orders. Shall be Glad to know if flower be a Commodity wanted with you or if any opportunity of shipping Pigg Iron to England

I am Gent your most H^{ble} servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland August

16th 1759

To Mess^{rs} Roberts and Slatters
merchants at Norfolk in
Virginia.

Gent.

I have shipped you in your ship the Desire Captain Saunders Ten Tun of Baltimore Pigg Iron I Desire you will make Insurance on the said ship for me that In case of Loss I may Recover Clear fifty Pounds.

I am Gent^t y^r mo. H^{ble} servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland Augst 27th 1759 }
To Messrs. Anthony Bacon and
Company Merch^{ts} in London }

Gent.

The above is your account for Iron sent you by your schooner Desire that by the Bearer Hereof William Holland youl send me Bills of Exchange or sterling Cash for the same and his Receipt shall be Good against

Gentlemen your most Humble serv^t

C. C.

Annapolis September 5th 1759

To Mess^{rs} Roberts and Slatters
merchants at Norfolk in Virginia }

Mr Younger Keilsick
Sir

There was sent to you by mistake from the ship Desire Captain Saunders Either a Box or Bale marked F H Number 2 or 4 which belongs to me I shall be obliged if you by the Bearer Hereof William Holland send me the same.

I am Sir your most H^{ble} Servant

C. C.

Annapolis September 5th 1759

To Mr Younger Keilsick
merchant at Norfolk
in Virginia

Gent.

Yours per the Tryall of September the first 1758 I Received with accounts of sales of Pigg Iron and Tobacco but observe you make a mistake In the N^o of Hh^{ds} shipped you in the Tryal there were two one of my own marke and one marked PAE N^o 1 as ^{of} Captain Mills Bill of Lading which have now by me appears Hope you will Rectify the account and Credit me with

the Produce of that hh^d I applyed to all your Captains and to Mr Cambell to take in Pigg Iron for me this year to you But they had Engaged your ships hope it will not be so next year and that you will let me Come in for an Equal share with your other Correspondents

I am Gentlemen your most H^{ble} serv^t

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland September 15th 1759 }
 To Mess^{rs} John Steuart and Company }
 Merchants in London
 ☞ Captain Ridgely
 ☞ Capt. John Johnston

Gent.

Yours of the 20th of march Came to hand wherein you Desire some Tobacco from me I assure you if I was a Maker I know none to whom I would more willingly Consign it But I Deal Chiefly in a Harder ware and am obliged to Employ almost all my hands to raise Provision for the workmen.

Part of my Iron I would this year have sent you But your Captains were Provided and Indeed I think it a Little hard that they will not or you will not now and then order them to admit me to share in your ships with your other Friends however I Promise you shall Embrace Every opportunity of Corresponding with you as I am with sincere Regard

Gentlemen your most Humble servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland September 15th 1759
 To Messrs. Capel and OsGood Hanbury
 Merchants in London.
 ☞ Captain Brown
 ☞ Capt. Ridgely
 ☞ Capt. Johnson

Gent.

Inclosed I send you a Certificate and Bill Laading for Ten Tons of Pigg Iron I should this year to have made you sufficient Remittances & to have Ballasted your ship Had not she been Promised before to M^r Grimes by M^r Franklyn and the fewness of the ships in the Country and their being Chiefly Engaged to the Tobacco maker who are iron masters is the occasion of my not shipping you what I have by me and Ready for you I hope you will order your Captains next year to take it in for me

I am Gentlemen your most Humble serv^t

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland September 17th 1759

To Mess^{rs} Anthony Bacon & Company }
merch^{ts} in London }

¶ Captain Ridgely } Sept. 20th 1759
¶ Cap^t Saunders }

Dear Sir.

I have Agreeable to yours of the 6th of April to Enable you to Proceed in Mess^{rs} Blakes affair with the Tildens sent you a Power of Attorney which hope will Do

This has been a bad year for shipping pigg or Barr Iron occasioned by the fewness of ships in the Country or would have sent you what I have Ready However have I hope been able Jointly with M^r Walter Dulany to Get one opportunity by Fanning to send you thirty five Tons the Proceeds of one half if it Gets time Enough to the ship to be taken in as the Captain seems to be in Great Hurry to Get away with the fleet to be Carried to my account the other to his he will as he has the Transaction of the affair write you more fully on it. I Expected to have had a Bill from Virginia for 100 and odd pounds to have sent you by the fleet but shall not be able to Get

it till after their General Court which is next month you may by the first ships after that Depend on it, it is Impossible if you Gentlemen in the Trade will Consider the matter and Hand our friends that the Pigg iron made in England Can by any means Lower the Price of our Iron they are of Different natures that made with you being a morose Churlish Iron and fit only for Castings and Indeed only for those of the Rougher sort ours a Tough malliable Iron for Bolting nails &c. which as the Demand for it Can not (whatever Quantitys you make in England) be Lessened must Keep up its Price But I fancy you would find on strict Inquiry that they Dont make the Quantitys in England they talk of and that it is only a scheme to Beat Down our Price I am however Certain that it Cant Continue but that the Projectors in that will share the fate of most others and Repent when to Late.

The Cottons you sent me in this year I think are Dear and thin I wish they may be able to hold out the winter whatever I write for marked with my own mark I would have sent of the best sort as they are always for my own use if Fannin should not sail with this fleet this Letter will Reach you time Enough to make Insurance on one half of the said thirty five Tons of Iron for me that in Case of Loss I may Recover at the Rate of five pounds ⁷/₈ Ton which I Desire you will do If he should sail with the fleet and this letter Reaches you before you hear of his arrival I Leave it to you Discretion to secure me against any Loss that may Happen I Chuse to Risque as little as Possible.

I am with sincere wishes for yourself and family happiness

Dear Sir your Humble servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland September
25th 1759.

To Mr William Anderson }
Merchant in London }

Mr Dulany Just now writes me word that he has Desired you to Insure at £6 Cur in Case of Loss as Property shall appear I agree to it

Y^{rs} m^t Supt

C. C.

Sir

I am sorry I am Disappointed in making you the Remittance by iron in Fannin as Intended But it Got too late to the ship to be Taken in She having one hundred Hh^{ds} Tobacco on Board so that Have the Freight of half of it to Wye and Back to pay this will Prevent your making the Insurance wrote for

I am Sir your most Humble Serv^t

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland Sept^r 27th 1759

To Mr William Anderson }
merch^t in London }

Sir

there is missing of the Goods sent me this year in the Desire Captain Saunders for the Baltimore Company marked E H a Bale N^o 2 Linens from John Cookson the value Charges Included about twelve pounds w^{ch} however you may see by the shop note and your Books

I shall not give the Captain up his Bill of Loading if Do not Receive it and send you this that you may Get me paid for it by him at home if I Dont Get Satisfaction for it of him here or Receive it w^{ch} youl know by his Producing the Bill of Loading it is to much too Lose

I am Sir your most Humble Serv^t

C. C.

Annapolis September 28th 1759 }
To Mess^{rs} Anthony Bacon and }
Company Merchants in London }

Mr Unckles

Inclosed you have a List of the Tenants names and their yearly Rents and as I Cannot any Longer afford to Lay out of so much Interest and Rent But am Determined to have it yearly paid till the Principal sums are Discharged Interest and all you must Annually Distrain for the Quit Rents and all the Interest on Each Respective Bond Except the Land Tax which must be Deducted and they must have an allowance for out of the Rent as they are themselves to pay it to the Sheriff where new Bonds are Given the Interest arising due on the old Bonds and Quit Rents due since the Passing the old Bonds must be Included in the new I will not any Longer suffer the Rents to be unpaid as I see no Good End Can be answered by it But the making them more Negligent and for Getfull I have Tried forbearance Long Enough and to have so much out and nothing Coming in for it is what in Justice to myself I Cannot afford and as I have given them warning and time Enough to Provide and Prepair I am sure they Cannot think it hard or Complain that I now take this method as they will not Comply without it they may avoid the Expençe of a Distress upon them by Complying But in making the Distress if they Dont Comply Run them to as little Expençe as possible and to shew them that you Do nothing But by my orders this Letter you may shew to them

I am your Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis September 28th 1759

To Mr Unckle Unckles	}	P. S. the first Distress to be made on those that do not Comply with out ^t it this Fall.
Pipe Creek		

Sir

I send you Down an Account Inclosed against Mess^{rs} Roberts and Slatter merchants of your Town I know nothing of

the Gentlemen but let them have the Iron on their Promise of Remitting me the Bill for it by the first opportunity, since when I have Received from them nothing But Trifling Excuses I must therefore Beg as a favour from you that you will Press them for the money for me which I had Rather have in Bills) But if they are not to be had will Take sterling Cash Pistoles w^t at sixteen shillings and six pence or our Currency or Pennsylvania at fifty $\frac{3}{4}$ Cent Exchange But if none of these to be had of them which Please to Press for I will rather than be Troubled Longer with them take your Currency at the Current Exchange tho. it will Lay Long by me here as we have not much Demand for it, and Keep it in your hands till M^r Middleton Comes Down which I Expect will be by the first Breaking up of the hard weather or send it me by the first safe opportunity I send Inclosed Likewise a Letter open to them which Please to seal and Deliver them If they Delay and you think there is any Danger of Losing it Take some Step to secure me Either by taking their Bond with Good security Payable to me which I would not have Done if there is any Probability of Getting me the money Immediately as I am in want of it or apply to some Lawyer you Can Confide in to Commence an Action on the Account as sent if he Can, or to send me as soon as Possible Instructions and he shall have the necessary Proofs or Powers to Enable him to Do it. They Promised me Bills Immediately after their General Court if they pay in them Please to see that the Drawer or Indorsers be substantial if the Drawer be not I would not take them on their Indorsement only but should Chuse to have another Reputable one. But this I leave to your management, shall be much obliged for a Line from you by the first opportunity and if I can be of any service to you here Please Freely to Command

Sir your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis December 28th 1759
To M^r Ashbery Sutton
Norfolk Virginia

Gent.

I have not as yet Received agreeable to your Frequent Promises the Bills for the Iron I sent by your schooner but on the Contrary nothing but Trifling Excuses and Delays I Desire therefore that you will on the Receipt of this Pay into the Hands of Mr Ashberry Sutton of your Town whose Receipt shall be Good against me the Sterling Cash or Good Bills in such manner as he shall approve of or I must take such steps to secure myself and Compell you to Compliance with your word as may not be agreeable to you and I assure you will not to

Gentlemen your most Humble servant

C. C.

Annapolis December 28th 1759
To Mess^{rs} Roberts and Slatters
Merch^{ts} Norfolk, Virginia

Sir

I have Been Hitherto Disappointed in Receiving the Bills mentioned in myne of the 25th of September last Intended to Remitt you for what I might be in arrears on account of what I wrote for in myne of the 23^d of may But Expect Every Day to have them. The Delay as the Debt is safe I hope will Inconvenience to you

Fanning not Taking in Mr Dulany's and my Iron was a Disappointment as well as a fruitless Expence to me as I was obliged to pay Freight for it to Wye. I hope to make it up you will Direct him or any of your Captains to take in for me this year Pigg or Barr of both which I have a Great Quantity by me and want to Get home. I am with Compliments to all with you

Sir your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis January 26th 1760.
To Mr William Anderson }
Merchant in London }

Sir

There are often to be met with out of Business fellows that understand Common Gardening as Laying of Turf Kitchen and Flower Gardening mowing and the management of an orchard I am in want of such a one and would go as far as twenty Pounds sterling Crimp money Passage and all Expenses Included for one that would Indent to me if Cant be got Cheaper for seven or five years I should Chuse a fellow about forty years old as those that are younger are not Easily managed. If such a Person to be met with and will Indent I will pay him the Residue of the twenty pounds after the Crimp money and Passage and necessary Expences in Getting him Here Deducted Either by the year or at the Expiration of his time or if he will not agree otherwise shall be obliged if you advance it before he Embarks but so as to be sure of him

I am Sir yr most Hble servt

C. C.

Annapolis Jan^y 29th 1760

To M^r William Anderson }
Merch^t in London }

M^r Henry Gaither

You may Receive what Rents you Can that are due from William Thomas Benson to me for Barbers Beginning out of which you must pay the widow Cumming Her third part there are Honestly Due me five years and he Cant Justly Refuse to pay them.

I have also due to me from Henry Bateman for the Rent of Presley at Ten pounds p^{a} year two years Rent one of which years Rent if you Can Get it of him you may Receive

Barbers Beginning was at three pounds Currency p^{a} year I

think if you Can Get these Rents you will have a most Extraordinary Good Bargain of me

I am your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis Febr'y 7th 1760.

To Mr Henry Gaither

Mr David Watson

I wrote to you some time ago but have Received no answer I must now Repeat that I Expected you would some time last fall have been Down with me as you Promised to Discharge your mortgage. I am in want of thirty Pounds of your Debt which I must have by the last of March and if that Complied with I will give you till the Fall to make up the Rest, I expect not to be Disappointed again

I am y^r H^{ble} servant

C. C.

Annapolis Febr'y 28th 1760

To Mr David Watson }
Fred^k County }

Gent.

I shall ship you in your Ship the Molly Captain Lewis now Loading in Great Choptank Twenty Tons of Baltimore Pigg Iron, as I hope it will Clear me at Least five pounds ^{per} Ton

I Desire you will make Insurance for me on the said Ship there and thence to the port of London and there till unlivered that in Case of Loss I may Draw Clear of all Charges the sum

of one hundred pounds the Charges of such Insurance Place to the account of

Gent your most Humble servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland June 5th 1760
To Mess^{rs} Capel and ozGood Hanbury
Merchants in London
Two Copys sent to M^r Daniel Wolstenholm
one ③ post to New York to go in the
Packet June 21st 1759. One Given
to M^r Graham to Go By Cap^t Garnet
③ Captain Curling Augst 12th 1760

Gentlemen

Inclosed I send you Bill of Lading and Certificate for twenty Tons Baltimore Pigg Iron I observe in your account Current Dated October 1st 1759 that tho you Credit me with the Nett proceeds of the Bar you do not Credit me with the four Ton of Pig shipped with the Eight Ton of Barr in George Snow in 1758 for which I have Bill of Lading from him shall be Glad if it be sold to have the account thereof as I hope my Iron will Clear me five pound ten shillings ③ Ton or more you will have a Ballance in your hands in my Favour I Desire therefore that you will Cancel my Bond Given at my Departure from England to Mess^{rs} John Hanbury and Company by tearing off the seale and send it me Cancelled by the first opportunity I Desire you will send me by the first opportunity Convenient to Annapolis one Good strong Light Carriole with Harness for two Horses with the Inclosed Coat of Arms or Crest as Fashionable on the Carriole. the wheels I would not have over High as our Roads are not the best. it must not be heavy as will not suit Getting into our Ferry Boats or small Horses. of the Genteel Taste but not whimsical and one strong Leather Portmanteau Trunk to Carry a suit or two of Cloths

and some shirts with straps to fasten behind the Carriole such as they usually Travel with behind Post Chaise with a Couple of Good Light whips for Driving Please to Insure on them so that In Case of Loss I may Draw their value and the Charges I am with true Esteem

Gent^t your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis, July 10th 1760

To Mess^{rs} Capel and ozGood Hanbury

Merchants in London

☞ Captain Lewis and Curling Brice and Coolidge

Sir

I shall ship you in your ship the Charming Nancy Capt. Fanning now Loading in Chester River thirty five Tons of Baltimore Pig Iron as I hope it will Clear me at Least five pounds ☞ Ton I Desire you will make Insurance on Her for me there and thence to London and there untill unlivered that in Case of Loss I may Draw one hundred and seventy five pounds Clear

I am Sir your most Humble serv^t

C. C.

Annapolis August 4th 1760

To M^r William Anderson

Merch^t in London

☞ Captain Lewis and Curling

☞ Captain Waters ☞ Captain Brice and Coolidge

Sir

I shall ship you in the ship Wye River Capt. Noel fifteen Tons of Balt. Pig Iron I Desire you will make insurance for me on the same that in Case of Loss I may Recover seventy five Pounds Clear the Deductions and the Charges of such Insurance Place to the Acc^t

of Sir Y^r mo. H^{ble} Serv^t

C. C.

Annapolis Aug 6th 1760

To Mr William Anderson

Merch^{ts} in London

☞ Captain Coolige

☞ Captain Brice

☞ Captain Lewis and Carling

Sir

Inclosed I send you the two first undernoted Bills of Excha.
Am^tg to £159.. 6.. 3 with w^{ch} when Paid Please to C^r my Acc^t
or Return me under Protest By the first oppertunity

I am Sir Y^r mo. H^{ble} Serv^t

C. C.

Annapolis Aug^t 12th 1760

Benjⁿ Southwell & Co on } £ 56.. 12.. 3

William Baker Esq^r London }

Whytehaven Payable in London } 102.. 12.. 0

Jn^o Hutchings on Peter Hoover }
159.. 6.. 3

To Mr William Anderson

Merch^{ts} in London ☞ Capt. Curling

Invoice of sundry Goods sent inclosed in a letter to Mr William Anderson Merchant in London Dated the — day of September 1760.

One Turkey Carpet suitable for a Room 25 feet Long and twenty Broad at about Ten Guineas

one Ditto for a Room Twenty feet Long and Eighteen Broad at about six Guineas

two Looking Glasses with Gilt Frames of the Plain Genteel Fashion The same Patterns for a Room thirteen feet Pitch with Double sconces or Branches fixed to the Frames of the Glasses as the Room where they are to Hang is stocco'd and no

places left for fixing the sconces if separated from the Glasses at about Ten Guineas Each

Four Dressing Table Mahogany Looking Glasses with small Drawers at the Bottom at about 25/ or 30/ Each

one four Wheeled post Chariot made Light and Fashionable without a Box strong and neat with Plain simple strong springs Lined with Green Cloth Painted and ornamented Fashionably with the Inclosed Coat of Arms with saddle and strong Good Harness for a pair of Horses the Crest in Brass Plates on the Harness and a spare set of Glasses that may be Provided against Accidents suppose may be Got Compleat for about seventy or eighty pounds would not have it of the small Dapper Fashion but of the Roomy sort as it is not for Travelling into the Country with but for Town use and they answer much better than heavy Chariots with Boxes as our Horses are but small and Ground Deep and sandy one suit of Blue Cloth or other Fashionable Colour for an undress suit of Cloths Coat waistcoat and Breeches the same made in french Frock Fashion Laced with narrow Double Gold Lace about fifteen pounds

one full Trimmed Dress suit fine Cloth with Fashionable Double Gold Lace Coat waistcoat and Breeches the same Grave Fashionable Colour about twenty five pounds to be had of Thomas Eccleston in Carey street who has my measure and fitted me very well with the last Cloths sent neither suit to be made in the Extremity of the Fashion. I send my measure in Case he should have Lost that sent before or should not be Living

one pair of Burrs or French mill stones for a water mill four feet Diameter fifteen inches Thick the Eyes Exactly in the middle and strongly Hooped with Iron if needfull and the best Directions for Fixing Dressing and managing them if any to be had

(To be continued).

THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI.

ITS ORIGIN, CHARACTER, AND PURPOSES: MEMBERSHIP
AND PRESENT VACANCIES.

In May, 1783, at the close of the War of the Revolution, which established the independence of the thirteen states which had successfully revolted against the restrictions placed upon them by the British Government of that period, officers of the Continental Army (that is to say, officers holding commissions issued by the Continental Congress) then "in the Cantonment on Hudson's River" established an Order, which they, out of high veneration for the character of the illustrious Roman, Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus (who in the fifth century Before Christ, after preserving the institutions of the Roman state, laid down the dictatorship and returned to the plowing of his own fields), denominated:

THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI.

The "Institution" which was prepared and adopted by the founders of the Order, not only set out the "immutable principles" upon which the Society was based—the first of such "*immutable principles*" being: "An Incessant Attention to preserve inviolate those Exalted Rights and Liberties of Human Nature for which they have Fought and Bled and without which the High Rank of a Rational Being is a Curse instead of a Blessing"—but provided that the following classes of officers of the Continental Line should be eligible for membership:

1. Those in service at the time of the founding of the Society;
2. Those previously deranged by act of Congress;
3. Those having had three years service as officers of the Continental Line.

Provision was also made for immediate representative membership as to officers who had died in the service and for the perpetuation of the Society through hereditary succession.

"For the sake of frequent communications" the "General Society" was divided into "State Societies," and a "State Society" was established in each of the thirteen original independent states on the North American continent. A fourteenth "State Society" was likewise established in France, composed of certain officers who either as allies, or in the American Continental forces, had participated in the War for Independence then just terminating.

While at one time or another certain of the "State Societies" have been dormant, the "General Society" and certain of the "State Societies", including that of Maryland, have had continuous and uninterrupted existence from the time of their establishment. Every dormant "State Society" has been revived—including that in France—and today all are active.

The most recently published roster of the "General Society" (that of 1935) shows seventy-seven living members on the Maryland roll. The records of the Society also show that there are one hundred and ninety-two names of "Original Members" on the Maryland roll, many of whom are not now represented. The Society has also, since 1854, admitted to its membership representatives of Continental Officers who did not become "Original Members" but whose services were such as to provide the basis for successor membership in the Society. There are further officers, who may now become represented under the "Rule of 1854."

At its annual meeting held on February 22nd, 1937, the "Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland" passed a resolution expressive of its desire to include in its membership representatives of lines now dormant, and appointed a Committee with authority to bring to the attention of gentlemen who may be eligible and interested the fact that the Society would be glad to entertain applications for membership based upon the ser-

vices of those officers whose services provide the grounds for it and who are not presently represented in the Society.

A list of officers (not regarded as final) on whose services memberships may be based has been prepared, and a copy may be consulted in the rooms of the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore. A copy may also be obtained by writing Col. James Cresap Sprigg, Allston Apartments, Baltimore, Md.

The form for Application for Membership, and closer information as to the Rules for Admission to Membership may be obtained by addressing A. Murdock Norris, Esq., Secretary, Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland, 218 Water Street, Baltimore, Md. Briefly, the Society now admits but one representative for the time being as to any propositus, and adheres closely to the rule of primogeniture, reserving to itself the right to reject any application "whenever it may deem it for its interest to do so, and to choose such as seems to it best fitted to promote the ends of the Society"—an expression which is of course to be construed in the light of the "Institution".

An applicant may submit with his application "waivers" from others who may stand nearer the "right" in primogeniture.

The Committee takes this means to bring the situation to the attention of those who may be interested and expresses its appreciation to the Maryland Historical Society for its assistance in so doing.

THE ROCKHOLDS OF EARLY MARYLAND.

By NANNIE BALL NIMMO

Robert Rockhold, seated upon 250 acres of land in Nansemond County, Virginia, before the 3rd of November, 1647, came into Maryland about 1649, and with Richard Bennett, John Lordking, William Pell, and others, settled in "Towne

Neck," in Anne Arundel County, where for mutual security they took up small tracts of land, to the intent they might seat close together. (C. P., f. 174, 203). (Founders, f. 9).

In August of 1651, Robert Rockhold and John Scotcher, also from Virginia, were granted 400 acres of land in Calvert County, on top of the Cliffts, the former having transported himself, his wife Sarah, and his two sons Robert and Thomas into the province to inhabit. This land was laid out for Robert Rockhold of Anne Arundel County, gunsmith, and John Scotcher, cooper, on the west side of the Chesapeake Bay adjoining the land of William Parker. (P. B. 4, f. 94.)

The connection existing between the two, does not appear. The latter died in 1659, his estate being administered upon by his widow Rose Scotcher. His inventory included a silver cup, silver dram cup, and a dozen silver spoons. (Test. Pro. 1^b, f. 56, 64.)

In September of 1659, the above 400 acres was surveyed for Robert and John Rockhold, sons of the first named Robert Rockhold, and called "Rockhould," and in 1672, was resurveyed for them, as the boundary trees had fallen down. (P. B. 16, f. 608).

It is assumed that Robert Rockhould, Sr. (the name so spelled after their coming into Maryland), died before July the 30th, 1666, at which time 90 acres of land on Scotcher's Creek, bounded south by Fullers, was laid out for John Rockhould, of Anne Arundel County, orphan, and was the land upon which he was then living. This land about 1706, was assigned by Thomas Rockhold, son and heir of John Rockhold, to Thomas Homewood. The tract was "Rich Neck." (P. B. 10, f. 235.) (A. A. Rent Rolls.)

Edward Rockhould, probably the son of Robert Rockhold, Jr., married in 1699, Mary, widow of John Nelson of Charles County, while Anne Rockhould, sister of John Rockhold, married Stephen White, who died in 1676, leaving a son by the same name. She married second, William Hawkins. Their son William Hawkins, Jr., was remembered by John Rockhould in his will of 1698. (Test. Pro. 17, f. 303.) (Wills.)

It is suggested, but not proved, that John Rockhould married Mary, the daughter of Lawrence Richardson, whose will of 1666, names his sons, John, Thomas, Lawrence, and his daughters, Sarah, Elizabeth, Mary, to whom he leaves some of his stock, called Violett, Mayflower, etc., while to his two young sons he leaves 280 acres of Upper Taunton, maybe the name of the tract taken from Taunton, Somerset, England, for in 1653, Elizabeth Smith, of Taunton, Somerset, in her will designates her kinswoman Elizabeth Richardson, then residing with her, as the wife of Lawrence Richardson, of Taunton. (Gleanings in Eng.)

Lawrence Richardson, Jr., made over his interest in the above-named tract to Joshua Dorsey, husband of his sister Sarah Richardson, while the remaining 120 acres was possessed by John Young, for Rockhold's heirs, this land in John Young's possession being mentioned in the will of Mary Rockhould in 1703. (Deeds, Rent Rolls.) (Warfield's Founders, f. 59.)

Nothing has been found to indicate that John Rockhould possessed land through his wife Mary, but 200 acres of Richardson's Folly, surveyed 1661 for Lawrence Richardson, was possessed 100 acres by Thomas Bland, 100 acres by John Rockhold. Richardson's Levell, 207 acres, John Rockhold bought from Thomas Richardson, and he later bought Burntwood Common. (Deeds, Rent Rolls.)

Other lands too, were taken up by him, and from a warrant of 583 acres granted him, 243 acres were surveyed into Rockhould's Purchase, on the north side of Curtis Creek, and 186 acres into Rockhould's Search, on the south side of the Patapsco River.

Both John Rockhould and his wife Mary were persons of education, their signatures written. In 1667 a warrant for 100 acres of land was granted John Rockhould, which warrant in 1669, he made over to William Hopkins, writing on the back of the warrant: "I John Rockhould do convey and make over to William Hopkins all my right to the within named warrant of land. Wit. Samson Waring. (P. B. 12, f. 358.)

Signed, John Rockhould."

In 1684, Henry Hemsley of Anne Arundel County, gent, assigned to John Rockhould, gent, Rockhould's Range, on the north side of the Patapsco River on Rich Creek. (Liber 22, f. 9.)

No positions of State seem to have been held by John Rockhould, but he appraised, with Thomas Blackwell and Henry Sewell, a number of estates, went security, and witnessed wills. He was closely allied with the Dorseys and the Howards, was a witness for Edward Dorsey in his suit against Thomas Bland and Damaris, his wife, and with John Rockhould, Jr., and Thomas Blackwell, witnessed the will of Joshua Dorsey in 1687.

Thomas Blackwell married Sarah (Richardson), the widow of Joshua Dorsey, and in his will of 1700 names his wife Sarah, her son John Dorsey, and Mary Rockhold.

John Rockhould and Thomas Blackwell appraised the estate of John Howard Sr., while in 1698, Thomas Blackwell and John Howard appraised the estate of John Rockhould.

Letters of Administration were granted Mary Rockhould on the estate of John Rockhould, as is noted, "Came Mary Rockhould, relict and administratrix of the last will of John Rockhould late of A. A. Co. deceased." The said Mary with John Howard and Lancelott Todd, were executors. Philip Howard swore the appraisers, John Howard, Jr., and Thomas Blackwell.

The will of John Rockhould, made 17 Feb. 1698, fails to mention his daughters, and John, Jr., living in 1687, is probably dead, and is not mentioned.

To son Thomas and heirs "Rockhould's Purchase" on Curtis Creek, Baltimore County, son Charles and heirs 207 acres of "Richardson's Levell" on Saltpetre Creek, Baltimore County, son Jacob and heirs 180 acres of "Rockhould's Search" on south side of the Patapsco River. To wife Mary, extrx., dwelling, plantation and "Burntwood Common" during life; to revert to son Jacob at her decease. To two cousins (nephews) Stephen White and William Hawkins, Jr., personalty. Sons desired not to sell land until reaching age of

30 years. Test. Lancelott Todd, Nathan Dorton and Thos. Ward.

Mary Rockhould outlived her husband about five years. Even before his death she was troubled, for on January the 25th, 1698, she wrote about it to Edward Batson, Deputy Comm.

"Mr. Batson,

Sir

These are to request you not to give letters of administration to any one for Nat Dotton's estate until I have seen you or sent you a ring.

All in trouble from your friend to command
Mary Rockhould." (Test. Pro. 17, f. 267.)

Her will made March 2nd, 1703, probated May 15, 1704, bequeaths to dau. Sarah Rockhould ten pounds, to sons Charles and Jacob Rockhould each ten pounds, to 2 daus. Susan Crouch and Elizabeth Tod 5 pounds each, to dau. Sebrah Rockhould a feather bed and furniture, to son Thomas Rockhould all my sheep. I give to Lance Tod all my shoe leather and goods coming in the fleets. I give Lance Tod my spaid Mare toads paying my debts. I give my son Lance Tod my tobacco made on my plantation last year and all that is on bord of the ship, with the rent of the said Land that John Young owes me and all other tobacco debts, sd Lance Tod to pay my debts with all, and all the Rent that shall be due in the next four years. 2 sons Charles and Jacob to live with my son Lance Tod until they arrive at the age of 18 years. Lance Tod to be whole and sole exec. Wit. Elizabeth Dunklose, Wm. Roper and Mary Parmer. (Elizabeth Dunklose written Elizabeth Dunkin in probate.) (Will Book 1, f. 14, Baltimore.)

Her administration bond by Lancelott Todd, William Cromwell, and William Cockey. May 15, 1704. Administration Bonds. C. H. Baltimore.

Thomas Rockhould married.

Charles Rockhould married Elizabeth Wright, daughter of Henry.

Jacob married.

Susannah Rockhould married first John Howard, son of Matthew and Sarah (Dorsey) Howard, second William Crouch.

Elizabeth married Lancelot Dorsey, son of Thomas of Anne Arundel County.

Sebrah married Frizzel.

Sarah married 1704 John Garner (At. A. Paris Reg.).

Their descendants are found in Anne Arundel, Baltimore and Harford Counties.

Samuel Greniffe in 1703, left personalty to Sarah Rockhould, James Crouch, and Maurice Baker.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The Colonial Period of American History. The Settlements.
Vol. III. By CHARLES M. ANDREWS. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937. \$4.00.

In the second volume of this series, published last year, Dr. Andrews discussed the functioning of the proprietary government in Maryland. Accordingly, it quite naturally follows that in this, the third volume of his colonial series, few references should be made to Maryland. Most of the book is devoted to a consideration of the settlement and colonization of Jamaica, New York, the Jerseys, the Carolinas and Pennsylvania. In the recently published volume, however, Professor Andrews makes interesting comparisons between proprietary rule in Maryland and in some of the other colonies. For example, he contrasts the powers exercised by Lord Baltimore and the Duke of York. The Duke's problem, Andrews maintains, in governing New York was simplified by certain circumstances which do not appear in Maryland history, and, as evidence of this, the historian adds:

In the first place the Duke of York never visited his province, and so family influence, which played so baneful a part in Baltimore's government of Maryland, was entirely absent from New York. Secondly, the duke gave away a large section of his territory and thus narrowed the area of his propriety, by withdrawing the lands between the Hudson and the Delaware from under ducal control. Thirdly, the duke never imposed an oath of fidelity upon all his people, as did Baltimore; he allowed all writs and processes to run in the king's name as Baltimore did not; and he never attempted to apply, as Baltimore did frequently, coercive methods of government and forms of land relationship that savored of medievalism. Fourthly, the accession of the duke to the throne of England automatically converted his propriety into a royal colony, though not one necessarily in which popular representation had a place. And, lastly, the downfall of the Dominion of New England, of which New York was integrally a part, but Maryland was not, left the province shorn of its official strength, an easy prey to insurgent attack.

Later, in the same chapter, Dr. Andrews compares the revolution in New York, led by Jacob Leisler, with the one in Maryland under the leadership of John Coode. Both revolutions were similar, states Professor Andrews, in that both were against "prerogative government, Roman Catholics in office, and French and Indian attacks; both were typical as uprisings employing armed force, intimidation, arrests, and banishment, and the formation of committees or conventions, under leadership." At the same time there were important differences. The revolt in Maryland was against the proprietor while in New York it was against an appointee of the crown. Consequently, as Dr. Andrews points out, King William "could and did approve the movement in Maryland, but he could not approve that in New York because he deemed it an affront to the dignity of a crowned head, and in that respect William was as unyielding as ever his predecessor had been."

When discussing the settlement and colonization of Pennsylvania Professor Andrews makes another interesting comparison between the proprietary powers exercised by Lord Baltimore

and William Penn. The historian calls attention to the fact that—

Though all reference to the palatinate of Durham was carefully omitted, Penn was given almost equivalent authority in the complete control he could exercise over the soil, in his right to determine the form of government, in his extensive privileges of local appointment, and in his ability to issue ordinances of his own in time of need. He could initiate and promulgate laws, but only with the advice, assent, and approbation of the freemen in assembly, that is, as later shown, by the freeholders. In all its main features the charter followed the standard type, differing, however, from charters of the earlier period in that it reduced considerably the proprietary prerogatives, toned down the strictly feudal aspects so as to render them as innocuous as possible, and reserved to the king all his sovereign powers.

From this it is obvious, continues Dr. Andrews, that Penn's charter, as compared with the one granted to Lord Baltimore fifty years before, or with that issued to the Duke of York in 1664, represented the changes that had occurred in the policies of the English government since the king had been restored to his throne. It is impossible to determine, adds Professor Andrews, "whether this minimizing of the proprietary features was the work of Penn himself, who in his earlier writings defended the liberties of the people as against the prerogative of proprietor or crown, or the work of the Lords of Trade and other of the king's advisers. . . . The latter may well have desired to reduce to the lowest possible terms the feudal terms of the patent."

From these quotations, taken at random from the third volume of Dr. Andrews' book on "The Colonial Period of American History," it is evident that the same high standard of historical writing, which characterized the first two volumes of the same series, is maintained in the volume just appearing. Nothing but admiration can be felt for the skillful and convincing manner in which Professor Andrews presents the results of his many years of original investigation.

RAPHAEL SEMMES.

Captains and Mariners of Early Maryland. By RAPHAEL SEMMES. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937. Pp. xvi, 856. \$5.00.

Not long before this book appeared I became acquainted with that delightful Swedish institution known as a smörgåsbord. It was, I discovered, a large table loaded down with an abundance of fine foods from which the diners selected what they desired as frequently as they desired. There were good solid roasts and potatoes but the remarkable feature was the assortment of hors d'oeuvres and of strange dishes, some of which proved to be highly spiced and all of which excited interest. The resemblance of the meal to the book is striking for it, too, has as its chief characteristics abundance, self-service and new materials. There are some benighted people in this hurried and harassed age who may object to the Gargantuan feast which Mr. Semmes spreads before them. Such can be dismissed as unworthy successors of the early Americans who were true trenchermen, or they can be reminded that it is possible to take as little as they wish. There are others who may object to the self-service, for many readers seem to like authors who pass judgments on events or actors in positive, specific and concrete terms. Instead of doing that Mr. Semmes modestly effaces himself and has the actors tell the story in their own words. This makes it difficult to say who was right in a particular case or who deserves credit for some achievement. There are, however, offsetting advantages. Not only scholars with their worship of source material but others, too, will prefer his method which alone can give the true flavor of the period and by which alone one can really know the people. There are few readers who will object to the great variety of new and significant materials included, although here and there are morsels that may be too rich for some diets. To obtain his materials Mr. Semmes drew upon the Public Record Office and the British Museum in London, upon the rich collections of the Maryland Historical Society, upon manuscripts in private hands and, above all, upon the *Maryland Archives*, for Maryland enjoys the distinction of having pub-

lished more records concerning its early history than any of the other States.

The subject of the book is life in seventeenth-century Maryland which is considered topically rather than chronologically. The first brief section describes the country and the animals in it as they appeared to the startled eyes of the first settlers. Then follows the section of nearly one hundred pages which supplied the word "Mariners" to the title. From it one can understand the hardships of the voyage to America in cramped quarters and on a restricted diet of ship-biscuit, salt meat, peas and cheese. From it, too, can be gained an appreciation of the vital importance of ships, including small boats and canoes, to people who lived on the banks of a body of water like Chesapeake Bay. The third and still longer section has as its main theme the "Captains," the political and military leaders of the colony. Necessarily they were a hardy group of men. Only such could cope with the situation or maintain any authority over turbulent settlers excited by civil war in England or by rumors of "Popish plots," and exposed to constant danger from Indians. Inevitably the problem of governing was a serious one and military affairs occupied a large portion of everyone's attention.

The last and by far the largest section of the book deals with all aspects of the relations between the settlers and the Indians. Bit by bit a vivid history of the conflict between the two races is pieced together. It is a story of sudden death, of treachery on both sides, of great cruelty, of fortitude, of dramatic action and of a clash between incompatible economic systems. Each has his day in court. With rich detail and in vigorous language the white settlers state their complaints and show how they justified their conduct to themselves. Equally clear is the tragic outcome of the process for the Indians. The fate of the Susquehannocks caught between the warlike Iroquois on the north and the advancing white men on the south and east makes a moving story. So, also, is that of one of the smaller Maryland tribes which the Indians themselves depicted in a pathetic appeal to the Governor (p. 403).

As a scattered Remnant of a confused Nation We Come to see you once more, our Brother, before we are all Dead and Dispers'd out of this Nation which we are now the Antients of, for as there is but few of us Remaining, nay even But a hand-full of us and but few Young men and Women, and as we love to Travel the Roads and other Places to seek the Support of Life, . . .

But now Some of the White People daily are seeking to Defraud and Deprive us of our lands, nay we need not say seeking to do it but have already done it, and keeps us from the Priviledge of receiving any Benefit or Satisfaction for some of our lands which, if you our Trusty Brother suffers us thus to be evilly treated, we shall soon be quite Destroyed and Totally Pushed out of this Nation, but hope you, our Brother, will never Suffer us thus to be Treated.

In spite of their treatment of the Indians and in spite of their crudities the early Marylanders, when intimately known as they cannot help but be known to any reader of this book, win both liking and respect. If they lacked the culture and refinement so characteristic of the aristocracy of eighteenth-century Maryland, they had the energy and strength to make that aristocracy possible. Many a reader will thank Mr. Semmes for his pioneering energy and skill which has made it possible to share their lives and thoughts.

W. STULL HOLT.

The Johns Hopkins University.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

May 10th, 1937.—The regular meeting of the Society was held tonight with President Riggs in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

A list of the donations made to the library was read.

The following named persons were elected to membership:

Active

Mr. R. Howard Bland	Mr. Laban Sparks
Mr. Thomas B. Butler	Mr. Franklin P. Whitcraft, Jr.
Mrs. Matthias L. Daiger	Mr. J. Rieman McIntosh
Mr. Matthias L. Daiger	Mr. John L. Sanford
Mr. William F. Cochran	Mr. B. Charles Stephany
Mr. Sidney Hall	Miss Florence Hooper
Mr. R. Manson Smith	Mrs. H. Cavendish Darrell
Mr. Nelson H. Stritehoff	Mr. Charles Markell
Mrs. Augustus E. Sattler	Mr. John B. Stump
Lt. Comm. Lee C. Carey	Mrs. John Glover Wilson
Mr. Thomas Machen	Mr. B. Frank Newcomer
Miss Mary C. Goodwillie	Mr. Benjamin F. Kenney
Mrs. Oscar Leser	Mrs. E. D. Edmonston
Mr. Edward Demarel Cook	Dr. I. Ridgeway Trimble
Morris Leon Radoff, Ph. D.	Mrs. John J. McMahon
Mr. Latrobe Cogswell	Mr. Walter W. Abell
Mr. Frederick H. Hennighausen	

It was moved, seconded and carried, that the following named persons be elected by special resolution at this meeting, due to the fact that the regular meeting are to be discontinued during the summer months:

Active

Miss Heloise Beebe	Mrs. T. Quincy Scott
Mrs. Prevost Boyce	Miss Dorothy McL. Scott
Dr. William J. A. Bliss	Mr. John Gray Goldsmith
Dr. Walter E. Dandy	Mrs. John Pleasants
Mr. L. Wylie Tipton	

Associate

Mr. Magruder Dent.

It was reported that the Commission appointed by the President of the United States to make plans for the celebration of the 200th birthday of Charles Carroll of Carrollton is most

actively arranging for a three-day celebration from September 11th to the 13th, inclusive.

Mr. Francis E. Old gave a most delightful and interesting talk, illustrated with lantern slides, of the old "Buildings of Baltimore."

Mr. William B. Marye moved that the thanks of the Society be extended to Mr. Old for his very interesting and instructive lecture.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

October 11th, 1937.—The regular October meeting of the Society had to be cancelled due to the fact that certain repairs were being made on the heating plant which left the building without any heat.

November 8th, 1937.—The regular meeting of the Society was held tonight. Owing to a recent bereavement in the family of General Riggs he was not able to be present. Mr. James E. Hancock was in the chair.

The minutes of the May meeting were read.

A list of some of the more interesting items presented to the Society during the summer months was read. The gifts were numerous so the complete list could not be read, but the total number consisted of 135 volumes, 253 manuscripts, 26 pamphlets, 5 maps, 10 newspapers.

The following named persons stood for nomination at the October meeting of the Society, and it was moved, seconded and carried that said persons be elected at this meeting as their names had been posted for more than thirty days:

Active

Mrs. Ronald T. Abercrombie	Mr. Charles H. Buck
Dr. Thomas B. Aycock	Mr. Allan L. Carter
Mrs. Thomas B. Aycock	Mr. H. Leroy Carter
Mrs. William C. Bode	Dr. Merville H. Carter

Msgr. Joseph A. Cunnane	Mrs. John T. Menzies
The Most. Rev. M. J. Curley	Monsignor John J. Murray
Mrs. Harry Stanley Dickey	Mr. Hamilton Owens
Mr. George R. Debnam	Mr. John W. Owens
Mr. Joseph J. Flynn	Mr. Robert E. Owings
Mrs. Joseph J. Flynn	Mr. Maurice F. Rodgers
Mr. Rayne W. Finch	Mr. Timothy Ryan, Jr.
Mr. Horace R. Ford	Mr. Antonio J. Scopinich
Mr. Samuel M. Hann	Miss Mary Charlton Stokes
Mrs. Ellen W. Hodges	Hon. Robert F. Stanton
Mr. William B. Hysan, Jr.	Mrs. Robert F. Stanton
Mr. Charles W. Lentz	Mrs. Alan P. Smith, 3rd
Hon. William P. Lawson	Miss Ursula G. Slaughter
Mrs. William P. Lawson	Miss Mabel R. Vickery
Mr. Lester S. Levy	Prof. Vertrees J. Wyckoff
Mr. William Henry Lloyd	Mr. Harry C. Weiskittel
Mr. Robert G. Merrick	Mr. Samuel L. Willard
Mr. C. Parker McPherson	Mrs. Norville Finley Young
Mr. John T. Menzies	

Associate

Mr. Charles H. Upham	Mr. Horace Van Deventer
Rev. Samuel M. Shoemaker	Mrs. Lawrence S. Morris

The following deaths were reported from among our members:

George Weems Williams, on June 23, 1937.
 Thomas Murray Maynadier, on June 24, 1937.
 H. Oliver Thompson, on August 3rd, 1937.
 Miss Eleanor S. Cohen, on August 6th, 1937.
 William B. Rayner, on August 30, 1937.
 Howard C. Beck, on September 22, 1937.
 Mrs. William H. (Bertha Hall) Talbot, on October 15, 1937.
 Dr. R. W. B. Mayo, on October 21, 1937.
 Mr. Ferdinand B. Focke, on November 3, 1937.

The speaker of the evening, Morris Leon Radoff, Ph. D., gave an interesting account of the compilation of an index to

the County Records (Maryland) under the title "Comments on the Work of the Historical Records Survey."

Dr. Kent Roberts Greenfield moved that a vote of thanks be extended to Dr. Radoff.

There being no further business, upon motion duly carried, the meeting adjourned.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

In reply to a query printed in Vol. 27, p. 172, concerning descendants of Elizabeth Marshall, who married Samuel Austin, Col. Jason McVay Austin, Third Corps Area, P. O. Building, Baltimore, will be glad to furnish information to anyone who will communicate with him at this address.

GODMAN. Samuel Godman, was buried May 18th, 1733, according to Register of All Hallows Parish, Anne Arundel County, Md. His widow, Anne, married Snowden Taylor, November, 1734. Would like to communicate with anyone having data as to this Samuel Godman and his ancestors.

SAMUEL O. GODMAN,
Box No. 135, Fort Myers, Fla.

MILLARD. Information wanted on the Millard family in Maryland, or Jacob Millard, who came to North Carolina before the Revolutionary War.

WILLIAM STEVENS POWELL,
123 Cowles St., Statesville, N. C.

SOPER or SOAPER. Wanted, the names of the parents of the following children:

Nathan Soper, married Ann Dorsey, November 21, 1791; Rachel Soper, married Edward Perry Vallein, December 26, 1796; Mary Soper; Esther Soper. All of Prince George's County.

Information wanted concerning this family, their ancestors and descendants.

Mrs. C. P. STEWART,
Blewett Falls, Pee Dee, N. C.

HAWKINS—THOMPSON. Information wanted concerning Capt. John Hawkins, born 1750, in Charles County, Md.; died in Delrairie, Fauquier County, Va., in 1803; married in 1781 to Alice Corbin Thompson, daughter of Dr. Adam Thompson of Upper Marlboro.

Dr. Adam Thompson of Upper Marlborough married Lettice Lee, daughter of Philip Lee of "Blenheim."

What is the line of Dr. Adam Thompson and his related lines?

GEORGE LANGFORD, JR.,
717 Jackson St., Joliet, Ill.

Child on a Mill Farm. By ELEANOR GLEN WALLIS. Dallas, Texas, c. 1937. Pp. 94.

The author of this small volume of poems was born in Baltimore and spent most of her childhood on her grandfather's farm at Stemmer's Run, Baltimore county. The poems have been favorably reviewed in various literary journals.

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